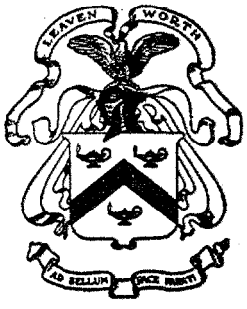
CANNAE

By

General Fieldmarshal COUNT ALFRED VON SCHLIEFFEN



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PREFACE

In the early 1980s, the Combat Studies Institute received a request for a study of all the cases in the past where armies fought outnumbered and won. The point was to distill the necessary ingredients that culminated in these armies' victories. The flaw in this procedure, however, was that it failed to consider the preponderant number of cases where armies fought outnumbered and lost. A widened focus would have eliminated a number of possible false conclusions.

A similar exercise was conducted eighty years earlier by Count Alfred von Schlieffen, the revered chief of the German General Staff. Convinced that Germany, surrounded by powerful enemies, would have to fight outnumbered and win, Schlieffen believed the key to victory could be discovered in an account of the Battle of Cannae, written by the German military historian Hans Delbrück. Therefore, Schlieffen ordered the historical section of the General Staff to produce a set of "Cannae Studies" that would demonstrate that the principle of double envelopment practiced by Hannibal at Cannae was the master key to victory in battle.

During the interwar years, the Command and General Staff School Press published two editions of a translation of Schlieffen's classic study. The current printing by the newly formed Command and General Staff College Press is meant to afford a new generation of army officers an experience of this famous work of military theory. In so doing, it is probably not remiss to caution readers that Hannibal's victory at Cannae still did not produce a strategic success, even though it was a tactical masterpiece. Hannibal lost the war with Rome. Likewise, Schlieffen's operational concept collapsed in World War I in the face of logistic and time-space realities he had chosen to discount because he believed they were inconvenient to his needs. The lesson to be learned from Schlieffen's experience is that history misapplied is worse than no history at all.

RICHARD M. SWAIN
Colonel, Field Artillery
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FOREWORD

This book was first brought to the attention of this School in 1916 by a lecture delivered by Colonel Wilson B. Burtt, Infantry, as to the observations of the United States military mission headed by General Joseph E. Kuhn on its visit to the German armies in 1915 and 1916. It was subsequently translated at The Army War College and individual officers in attendance there sought copies. At various times efforts were made to have it published in English. The stumbling block, both commercially and officially, was the necessity for reproducing some one hundred maps or sketches and without these the text would lose much of its military value. Furthermore, it was necessary to obtain the authority of the heirs of the author as well as that of the publishers. Thanks to their courtesy this has been satisfactorily arranged. This School has now undertaken this task, without any expectation of profit, in order to make available in English to the officers in attendance here a truly great modern military book. It is great because of the position and prestige of the writer and its influence on the conduct of the World War. It is modern since no one can attempt an understanding of many of the phases of the last war without the background of the military theories herein presented. Furthermore, these theories must be weighed, whether accepted or denied, in whole or in part, in the major conceptions of a future war should, unhappily, such occur. I have read and re-read my typed copy from the War College days with a set of photostat maps, certainly to my advantage because of the clear concise statements of the military campaigns which serve as the background and occasion for the presentation of the author's theories. Whether the theories are correct or not, each one must judge for himself. In any case they should be known and understood by officers attending this School.

STUART HEINTZELMAN,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Commandant.

26 June, 1931.

INTRODUCTION

The work of General Field Marshal Count von Schlieffen, as Chief of the General Staff of the German army, took place remote from publicity. Since the World War, however, his name is mentioned by all. It came to be known that it was his spiritual heritage which, at the beginning of the war, brought to the German arms their great successes. Even where his doctrines were misapplied, his schooling of the General Staff remained, nevertheless, a priceless possession. * * * *

Strictly, the Cannae studies of Count Schlieffen are not presentations from Military History. They comprise, rather, a conversational document of instruction. Just as the Field Marshal, in his activity as Chief of the General Staff of the Army, always endeavored, during the long period of peace, to keep alive in the General Staff, and thus in the army at large, the idea of a war of annihilation, so, likewise, is this expressed in his writings. Germany's situation demanded a quick decision. Though the Count set great store on the efficiency of the German army, he was, nevertheless, always preoccupied with thoughts of how our leaders would acquit themselves when the time came. Hence, in his writings he often attributes his own ideas to the leaders of the Past—among them Moltke—when he wishes to prove that to achieve a decisive victory of annihilation *outflanking*—preferably from two or three sides—must be resorted to, as Hannibal did at Cannae. In everything which Count Schlieffen wrote the two-front war which threatened Germany hovered before him. In such a war we would be victorious only if soon after its outbreak we succeeded in obtaining an annihilating defeat of France. Modern battles Count Schlieffen characterizes even more than earlier battles as a "struggle for the flanks." Therefore he stresses the necessity, in case parts of an army have made frontal

contact with the enemy, that the neighboring columns be allowed to march further so that they may be able to turn against flank and rear. In this method of presentation the Count is not always just to the actors of war history, especially the subordinate leaders of our own army of 1866 and 1870-71. However, he explains their conduct as born of the Napoleonic traditions in the absence of war experience by their own generation. Notwithstanding the severity of his judgement, the writings of the Field Marshal show a real appreciation of true military art, for within him there abided an incomparable military fire. The reckless urge to the offensive of our Infantry he emphasizes as the pre-requisite to victory.

Notwithstanding the sharp delineation of the Cannae doctrines Count Schlieffen was no schematist. He knew that in war many means lead to the goal. However broad his knowledge of the achievements of modern war technique and however constantly he had furthered its development in our army, his opinions remained steadfastly tentative in this domain, because the possibility of testing the technique of new weapons on a large scale was wanting in peace time. Before the war we all could only surmise their actions on the ground and in the air. Reconnaissance, Victory, and Pursuit, the paving of the way for a Cannae, as well as the penetration, all evinced more than ever before, and in a much higher degree, that they depended on the effect of the weapons of the enemy. This explains partly why, except for Tannenberg, a real Cannae did not occur in the World War. That one did not occur in the west at the beginning of the war is the fault, in the first instance, of the Supreme Command. Indeed it was the Schlieffen plan on which our operations were based, yet in their actual execution it was departed from. His constant exhortation to make the right army flank as strong as possible was not heeded.

As in this respect, so also the apprehensive foreboding of the Field Marshal in his composition, "The War of the Present Time," came true. The long dragged out war ruined world industry. The frontal juxtaposition of the forces

excluded a complete decision. The appeal for a stronger war establishment for Germany made by Schlieffen in his "About the Armies of Millions" was heeded too late. Count Schlieffen resembles in this respect the other great counsellor of his day, Prince Bismarck. In the work: "Benedeck's leadership of the army from the newest researches" Count Schlieffen's purpose is to point out where an unlucky selection of a Commander-in-Chief may lead. This is another exhortation.

The Field Marshal shows in his writings that he always aspired to the ideal, well knowing that one must set up a demand for this to attain anything of high standard. In this, at least, we were successful in the World War. From the publications of our enemies we know now how near we were, several times, to final success, in spite of our numerical inferiority; and that is not a trifle. The annihilation doctrine has not died in the German Army. Count Schlieffen was the one best fitted to further Moltke's art of war. He drew the most pertinent deductions from the constant growth of armies and the enlarged conditions of the present. The fear of mass armies we have overcome, thanks to him, and in the handling of the weapons we have shown ourselves to the last superior to our opponents. If the World War constitutes a high title of honor for us, General Field Marshal Count Schlieffen has a rich share therein.

BARON VON FREYTAG—LORINGHAVEN,
General of Infantry, Retired,
German Army.

NOTE:—The translation of the body of this English edition has been made from part of the 1913 edition of the "Collected Writings." The maps and the list of same are likewise from that edition. The introduction and some of the footnotes have been taken from part of the 1925 Edition of "Cannae."

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CHAPTER I

The Battle of Cannae

The army of Hannibal, fronting west, stood on 2 August, 216 B.C., in the Apulian plain to the left of Aufidus (Ofanto) in the vicinity of the village Cannae,[2] situated near the mouth of the river, and opposite the troops of Consul Terentius Varro. The latter, to whom had been transferred by the other Consul Aemilius Paulus the daily alternating commandership, had Map 1.

55,000 heavily armed men,
8,000 lightly armed men,
6,000 mounted men,

on hand and, in the two fortified camps,

2,600 heavily armed men,
7,400 lightly armed men.

10,000 men.

at his further disposition, so that the total strength of the Roman army amounted to 79,000 men.

Hannibal had at his disposition only

32,000 heavily armed men,
8,000 lightly armed men,
10,000 mounted men.

50,000 men.

His position, with a considerably superior enemy in his front and the sea in his rear, was by no means a favorable one. Nevertheless, Consul Aemilius Paulus, in concurrence

[1] First published in the VI and X annual volumes of the "Vierteljarshifte für Truppenführung und Heereskunde" (1907-1913) E. S. Mittler and Son, Berlin.

[2] Hans Delbrück, "Geschichte der Kriegskunst" (History of the Art of War) I.

with Proconsul Servilius, wished to avoid a battle. Both feared the superior Carthaginian cavalry to which Hannibal particularly owed his victories on the Ticinus, on the Trebia and at the Trasimene lake. Terentius Varro, nevertheless, wished to seek a decision and avenge the defeats suffered. He counted on the superiority of his 55,000 heavily armed men as against the 32,000 hostile ones, consisting of only 12,000 Carthaginians and of 20,000 Iberians and Gauls who, in equipment and training, could not be considered as auxiliaries of full value. In order to give increased energy to the attack, Terentius gave his army a new battle formation.(3) The cavalry was placed on the wings. The lightly armed troops, destined to begin the combat, to envelop the enemy and to support the cavalry, were not much considered by either side.

Hannibal opposed to the enemy's front only his 20,000 Iberians and Gauls, which were probably 12 files deep. The greater part of his cavalry under Hasdrubal was placed on the left wing and the light Numidian on the right. In rear of this cavalry the 12,000 heavily armed Carthaginian infantry were formed equally divided between the two wings.

Both armies advanced against each other. Hasdrubal overpowered the weaker hostile cavalry on the right flank. The Roman knights were overwhelmed, thrown into the Aufidus or scattered. The conqueror turned the hostile infantry and advanced against the Roman cavalry on the wing which, until then, had only skirmished with the Numidian light horse. Attacked on both sides, the Romans were here

Maps 2 and 3.

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(3) The heavily armed men (templates) would have been formed, according to regulations, in three lines, in close formation, the two foremost lines in equal strength (hastati and principes) with 4000 men in the front, and a total of 12 files, * * the third line (triarii) only half the strength in 160 equally distributed columns of 60 men (10 in the front and 6 in depth) immediately in the rear. This formation of 18 files, appearing too broad to the commander, was deepened into 36 files with a front of 1600 men * * *.

The heavily armed men (hoplites) were generally equipped with helmet, breastplate, legplates, round shield, spear and short sword. The Iberians and Gauls had, as defensive equipment, only the helmet and a large shield.

The formation into lines was not made in one connected line, but in six-file manipel columns with short intervals.

Both formations, the broad as well as the deep, required 57,600 men. There lacked, consequently, 2,600 men of the regulation strength.

also completely routed. Upon the destruction of the hostile cavalry, Hasdrubal turned against the rear of the Roman phalanx.

In the meanwhile, both infantry masses had advanced. The Iberian and Gallic auxiliary forces were thrown back at the impact not so much on account of the strength of the attack of the 36 Roman files as on account of the inferior armament and the lesser training in close combat. The advance of the Romans was, however, checked, as soon as the Carthaginian flanking echelons, kept back so far, came up and attacked the enemy on the right and left, and as soon as Hasdrubal's cavalry threatened the Roman rear. The triarii turned back, the maniples of both wings moved outward. A long, entire square had been forced to halt, fronting all sides and was attacked on all sides by the infantry with short swords and by the cavalry with javelins, arrows, and slingshots, never missing in the compact mass. The Romans were constantly pushed back and crowded together. Without weapons and without aid, they expected death. Hannibal, his heart full of hatred, circled the arena of the bloody work, encouraging the zealous, lashing on the sluggish. His soldiers desisted only hours later. Weary of slaughter, they took the remaining 3000 men prisoners. On a narrow area 48,000 corpses lay in heaps. Both Aemilius Paulus and Servilius had fallen, Varro had escaped with a few cavalrymen, a few of the heavily armed and the greater part of the lightly armed men. Thousands fell into the hands of the victors in the village of Cannae and in both camps. The conquerors had lost about 6,000 men. These were mostly Iberians and Gauls.

Map 3.

A battle of complete extermination had been fought, most wonderfully through the fact that in spite of all theories, it had been won by a numerical inferiority. Clausewitz said "concentric action against the enemy behooves not the weaker" and Napoleon taught "the weaker must not turn both wings simultaneously." The weaker Hannibal had, however, acted concentrically, though in an unseemly way, and turned not only both wings, but even the rear of the enemy.

Arms and the mode of combat have undergone a complete change during these 2000 years. No attack takes place at close quarters with short swords, but firing is used at thousands of meters range; the bow has been replaced by the recoil gun, the slingshot by machine guns. Capitulations have taken the place of slaughter. Still the greater conditions of warfare have remained unchanged. The battle of extermination may be fought today according to the same plan as elaborated by Hannibal in long forgotten times. The hostile front is not the aim of the principal attack. It is not against that point that the troops should be massed and the reserves disposed; the essential thing is to crush the flanks. The wings ought not to be sought at the advanced flank points of the front, but along the entire depth and extension of the hostile formation. The extermination is completed by an attack against the rear of the enemy. The cavalry plays here the principal role. It need not attack "intact infantry," but may wreak havoc among the hostile masses by long range fire.

A condition of success lies, it is true, in a deep formation of the hostile forces with shortened front through massing of reserves, thus deepening the flanks and increasing the number of combatants forced to remain in inactivity. It was Hannibal's good luck to have opposed to him Terentius Varro, who eliminated his superiority by disposing his infantry 36 men deep. At all times there have been generals of his school, but not during the period when they would have been most desirable for Prussia.

CHAPTER II

Frederick the Great and Napoleon

None more than Frederick the Great was so apt to fight a battle of extermination with a numerically inferior strength. He was, however, unable to attack at Leuthen with his "unequal force" of 35,000 men, however thin he might have made it, the wide front of Prince Charles of Lorraine with his 65,000 warriors. He would not have had any troops left for the surrounding of the overpowering superiority of the enemy. He directed the main attack against one flank, as had already been attempted at Soor and executed at Prague. He succeeded in deceiving the enemy, turning him and bringing up the Prussian army perpendicularly to the lengthened front against the hostile left flank. The extreme left wing, thus placed in a precarious position, was broken. The Austrians turned their masses towards the threatened flank; however, they were unable to reform, in their haste, their original long front in the new direction, but fell unintentionally into a formation 40 men deep, quite similar to the one assumed by Terentius Varro. The position, in general, corresponded to that of Cannae. The narrow Austrian front was attacked by the not much wider Prussian. Cavalry was assembled on both wings. There lacked, however, the two echelons of Carthaginian Infantry of 6000 men each. The numbers on hand did not suffice for their formation. The little that was left was not sufficient to turn in to the right and left. The entire deep envelopment had to be replaced; on the right—by an oblique drawing up of a few battalions against the hostile left wing, on the left—by placing a battery acting in a similar way. The preponderance of cavalry was likewise lacking. It is true that Zieten had thrown back the hostile cavalry on the right. He was, however, prevented from advancing against the infantry by the difficulties of the terrain. On the left,

Map 4.

Driesen was too weak to advance at once and had to await a favorable moment in order to overthrow Lucches' cavalry and to strike a decisive blow by attacking the right infantry flank and force the enemy to retreat shaken by a long frontal combat. The retreat, starting in confusion on the left flank toward Lissa, was changed into rout by pursuit.

The disproportion of strength was too great, the forces too unequal. Leuthen could be only a mutilated Cannae. The problem of fighting a battle of extermination with a strength half that of the enemy was, however, solved to a certain degree. What was lacking during the combat for extermination in turning, enveloping, and surrounding was, at least, partially compensated for by the forced retreat to the left flank. If, during the further pursuit by Zieten and Fouqué, they could have acted "with more vivacité," and sat "closer on the heels of the enemy," the results would have been greater but were still considerable. "Of the proud Imperial army which crossed the Queiss at Lauban with 90,000 men, scarcely one fourth left the soil of Silesia and returned over the frontier of Bohemia in the greatest dejection and discouragement." This came pretty close to extermination.

The turning movement at Zorndorf was to be executed in a still more effective way. Fermor, with 40,000 Russians, invested Küstrin in August, 1758, on the right from the Warthe and the Oder. Frederick the Great had formed, on the other bank of the Oder, at Manschnow and Gorgast, an army of 36,000 men with the troops brought from Bohemia and those which advanced with Count Dohna from East Prussia and Pomerania. To lead these troops through the
Map 5. fortress against the Russians did not promise much success. The King marched downstream and on 23 August, crossed the Oder at Güstebiese, for the purpose of pushing the enemy against the river and the fortress and thus to surround him entirely. Fermor met this turning movement and took up position in rear of the Mietzel, at Quartschen. It was impossible for the Prussians to deliver an attack against the Russians over the marshy little river, difficult to cross. A new turning movement was to be made and a crossing sought

further up. The left bank of the Mietzel was won on 25 August, at the Neudamm mill and Kerstenbrügge. It was found too difficult to immediately attack the eastern flank of the Russian army, assembled at Quartschen, over a row of ponds situated between Wilkersdorf and Grutzberg as well as over the Langengrund. The turning movement was continued over Batzlow and Wilkersdorf against Zorndorf, and when the head of the columns reached the Zaberngrund, they marched to the right. The advance was directed against the rear of the enemy and not against his flank. According to this, Fermor made a countermarch within the regiments, making them turn back, placing the second line in the line and the first line in the second. The width of the front was not narrowed but maintained the same as before. The attack, was, consequently, not rendered less difficult. Only after a victory would it be seen that an obstacle, situated in the rear of the Russian army and difficult to surmount, would prove of great advantage. Should the Russians be vanquished, they would likewise be destroyed. Fortunately, the battlefield was divided. The Russians were drawn up near Quartschen, fronting Zorndorf, their right wing between the Zabern and the Galgengrund, the center and left wing between the Galgen and Langengrund, the mass of cavalry under Demiku, to the left and in the rear near Zicher.

Map 6.

The flanks of this position were securely protected; the wings could not be surrounded. The King decided to press upon the right wing, separated from the rest of the army, with superior forces, then to attack the center and left wing from the west. For this purpose, the advance guard (8 battalions) under Manteuffel and, following at 300 paces, the left flank (nine battalions of the first and six battalions of the second line) under Kanitz advanced between the Zabern and Galgengrund, the right wing (eleven battalions of the first and four battalions of the second line) under Dohna, kept back to the east of the Galgengrund, were to cover the right flank; Seydlitz with 36 squadrons on the left, Schorlemer with 20 squadrons on the right were to secure the advance march and take part in the combat, if necessary, while

20 squadrons of dragoons followed as reserve. Sixty heavy guns opened the battle. Their effect on the close and deep formation of the 16 Russian battalions on the right wing was annihilating. After two hours, the attack seemed sufficiently prepared to allow the advance of the vanguard. The Russian artillery, however, was not yet dead. Their canister fire was likewise murderous. The thinned battalions of Manteuffel closed and relinquished the position on the Zaberngrund. There were no reserves to fill the gaps in their ranks. Kanitz, accustomed to maintain touch and communication with the lines, before all things, moved up to Dohna on the right and advanced, east of the Galgengrund, against the Russian center which was still unshaken and 24 battalions strong. When he and Manteuffel approached the enemy, they saw themselves enveloped on both sides by the hostile line. The advance of the 14 battalions of the Russian left wing against Kanitz, stopped Dohna's energetically firing artillery which had been kept behind. The right wing rushed with 16 battalions and 14 squadrons against the left flank and the front of Manteuffel. The Prussians were thrown back with great losses. The pursuing Russians, however, left their flank uncovered and Seydlitz succeeded in crossing in three places the Zaberngrund which until then was deemed unpassable. At the same time, the dragoons of the reserve advanced. Twenty squadrons attacked the front, and the flank and rear were attacked by 18 squadrons each. The Russians, shaken by the artillery fire, and scattered during the heat of pursuit, defended themselves obstinately. After a long and bloody hand to hand fight, the remaining men fled over the Galgengrund to Quartschen or to the Drewitzer Heide. In spite of the initial victory, the Russian right wing, attacked on three sides was entirely annihilated. It was, however, impossible for Seydlitz to follow up his victory, to advance over the Galgengrund, support the frontal attack of the infantry by a flanking attack. The attack of Kanitz was repulsed by superior numbers and the Russian center was well able to hinder any movement over the Galgengrund.

The entire army had to be assembled again near Zorndorf for a second battle. The advance guard, however, was unfit for further use. It was, consequently, withdrawn. Of the remaining 30 battalions, 15 battalions of the right wing, under Dohna, were to advance along the Langengrund and, with the aid of Schorlemer, rout the Russian left wing, if possible, after which they were to turn left to attack the center which was to be simultaneously pressed by Kanitz from the south and Seydlitz from the west. The plan seemed doomed. While ninety-seven guns were preparing the combat and Dohna advanced to the half right towards the Langengrund, Demiku rushed unexpectedly with his cavalry against the great battery of the right wing, against the right flank of the infantry and against Schorlemer's cavalry. The battery was lost, one battalion was surrounded and put down its arms, others were confused for the moment, but the Russian cavalry was finally repulsed by the fire of the infantry and retreated before Schorlemer's cavalry towards Zicher. This enemy was eliminated. In spite of his defeat he succeeded in gaining considerable advantages. The Prussian left flank, though not touched by Demiku's attack, was so shaken by the previous unfortunate combat and so discouraged by the expectancy of a new catastrophe, that it was seized with panic and fled, being arrested only at Wilkersdorf in its flight and brought to a standstill. Seydlitz marched with his 56 squadrons to the evacuated place and advanced principally left of the Steinbusch, while Dohna advanced with his right wing, along the Langengrund, against the closely massed 38 Russian battalions. After a hot hand to hand fight, the Russian left flank retreated first. In order to avoid being pushed into the Hofebruch, it attempted to escape towards Quartschen. This left the left wing of the Russian center unprotected. Dohna turned to the left. Attacked on two sides, hemmed in on the third by an insurmountable obstacle, the center was gradually pushed back over the Galgengrund. It took up position on the hills on the other side.

Map 7.

Map 8.

It was absolutely necessary to annihilate the enemy up to his last man. The King wanted to fight another battle in the evening. The cavalry, however, after two most excellent

feats in the morning and in the afternoon, was unfit for further action. Forcade, taking the place of the wounded Dohna, was to attack the Russians in front, while Kanitz, who had again brought up his battalions, was to strike at their right flank. These troops, however again went to pieces. Forcade alone could not possibly execute the attack. The Russians held their position. Their condition was nevertheless quite critical. They had only 19,000 men left out of the 44,000 with which they went into battle. The Warthe, the Oder and the Mietzel formed, in rear of this remnant of troops which had escaped annihilation, a bow of rivers, the only passage over which was hemmed in by the fortress of Küstrin. An army, which had suffered greatly and appeared incapable of attack, was standing in front of them. The Russians could move neither forward nor backward. They could not remain in position as they lacked ammunition and food. The primary intention of the King—to surround and bottle up the enemy, had been attained. The victorious Prussians were, however, unable to continue the attack immediately. They would now rally, however, as their losses were much smaller than those of the enemy. They were now superior in numbers by some 23,000 men, and would soon be able to engage in a new battle. The latter would doubtlessly be crowned with complete success. Yet considering the obstinate capacity for resistance of the Russians, the victory would have to be bought at the cost of greater sacrifices than the King could for the moment afford. It was necessary for him to go back, without loss of time, to Silesia or Saxony in order to check the advance of the Austrians. He decided to build a golden bridge for the enemy and marched off late in the afternoon of the 26th, beyond the Langengrund towards Zicher. The enemy took advantage of the outlet left him and marched early in the morning of the 27th, going around the south of Zorndorf and Wilkersdorf, to Klein-Kammin, in order to occupy a fortified position there. The King went into camp at Tamsel. With natural communications in their rear, the two adversaries remained opposite each other until 30 August. On the 31st, Fermor marched towards Landsberg. Followed by Dohna, he began the grad-

ual retreat beyond the Vistula. He had saved one third of his strength. He had not been annihilated, but eliminated. The King turned to other problems.

Leuthen had freed the King from the Austrians, like Zorndorf from the Russians. His enemies had to form new armies for the continuation of the war. The difficulties encountered in the mode of procedure, chosen by Frederick the Great, came clearly to light. It was proven in these battles, and still more in others, that it is not easy to even partially annihilate one's enemies with numerically inferior strength. At Prague,(4) the enveloped enemy had had time to form a new front almost on a similar extension as the old front. At Kolin, the Austrians had only to move a little to the right in order to frustrate the turning movement. The intended flank attack was transformed into a frontal attack, an attack which was opposed at Kolin by greatly superior numbers (20,000 against 35,000 infantry) and by a much more extended line. In the first battle it was possible to execute a surrounding movement, while in the second, Zieten was not able to cope with the difficult problem. Should it be impossible to succeed in deceiving the enemy to a certain extent, to conceal the turning movement, the outcome would be more than doubtful. A certain surprise was necessary, at least where the Austrians were concerned. The stolid Russians could be treated with less caution. They could help themselves in another way. The 70,000 Austro-Russians who defended themselves at Kunnersdorf against 40,000 Prussians, had transformed their strong position into a fortress by means of entrenchments and ditches. They would be, however, entirely cut off by a turning movement via Goritz. A victory was still necessary for annihilation. This could not be attained with 40,000 men against 70,000 well entrenched enemies. The Leuthen program was executed insofar that Mühlberg, the supporting point of the left wing, was captured. In a further attempt to throw back the enemy from the left to right, the Prussian infantry

Maps 9 and 10.

(4)It was the Fieldmarshal's intention to include the "Battle of Prague" in the book edition of "Cannae." The description of this battle may be found in the second volume of "Collected Writings" in the study entitled "Frederick the Great."

failed before a too strong artillery and against ever newly forming flanks, and finally broke before the powerful position of the Spitzberg. Even Seydlitz could do nothing with his cavalry against ditches and entrenchments.

It may be seen from all the battles, won or lost by Frederick the Great, that his aim was to attack from the very beginning a flank or even the rear of the enemy, to push him, if possible against an insurmountable obstacle and then to annihilate him by enveloping one or both of his flanks.

* * * * * *

A similar intention will be found in Napoleon. Turning movements, executed by the King in the immediate vicinity of the battlefield within a few hours, were begun by the Corsican days and weeks in advance and extended over vast areas. A surprise could not be thus attained. This was not necessary, however. The mass of troops at the disposition of Napoleon assured victory and eliminated from his battles, with similar fronts, the venturesomeness of Frederick's combats.

Map 11. We find the first example in the campaign of 1800. Melas, the Austrian commander-in-chief in Italy, let Massena be besieged in Genoa by Ott with 24,000 men and opposed on the Var 28,000 men to Suchet's 12,000. A force of 35,000 men, divided into numerous small detachments, was to secure the passes of the Alps in a wide semicircle between Nice and Bellinzona. General Bonaparte made Suchet detain Melas as long as possible, caused Turreau with 6300 men to make a demonstration over the Mont Cenis and Susa down in the valley of the Dora Riparia and the division of Chabran to cross the lesser St. Bernard in the direction of Aosta; while he himself led the reserve army from Dijon via Geneva, Lausanne, and Martigny over the great St. Bernard and reached at Ivrea the North Italian lowland with 36,000 men. Indescribable obstacles were overcome by the energy of the commander and the zeal of his officers and men. Melas did the same thing as Prince Charles of Lorraine and Fermor had done in their time: He turned against the enemy who was turning him, left Elsnitz with 17,000 men opposite

Suchet and marched with about 11,000 men to Turin. A French attack in this direction would not have achieved a complete decision. Melas would probably have escaped east. Bonaparte continued, under protection of a flanking detachment marching by Chivasso, Trino, Vercelli, and Pavia, the turning movement by Vercelli and Turbigo to Milan in order to unite, at this point, with 15,000 men under Moncey who had crossed the St. Gothard, a portion of them having also crossed via the Simplon. After Suchet had routed Elsnitz, he pushed the enemy, stationed along the Po, to the Mincio, pursued him as far as Brescia, Crema, and Piacenza, barred the communication with the rear over the St. Gothard to Zurich and occupied the crossings over the Po, the right bank of the latter was won at Stradella. In the meantime, Melas endeavored to unite his forces at Allessandria. The opponents confronted each other with a totally changed front. Neither one nor the other had succeeded in assembling an army corresponding to the total strength. Melas had only 28,500 men, while Bonaparte had only 22,000 men out of 69,000 on account of numerous flank and rear detachments. He was, however, forced to advance if he wished to prevent the enemy from crossing the Po in a northerly direction and cutting the French line of communications over the St. Gothard, or from rushing south to Genoa which had just been evacuated by Massena. An advanced Austrian detachment was thrown back at Montebello. Melas himself did not seem as yet to want to leave Allesandria. The French troops extended to the right towards the Bormida. Melas crossed the river early on 14 June. The Frenchmen, surprised at Marengo, could not hold out long. The Consular Guard was vainly sent into action as a reserve. All lost ground. The retreat, almost a flight, was in full swing. The Austrians followed in two long columns. Desaix, sent with 5,000 men to Rivalta to protect the flank, arrived there and threw himself on the nearest column. The surprised enemy, in unfavorable position, could not easily advance. Kellerman rushed in with his brigade of dragoons and decided the combat. The head of the column was thrown back upon its center and rear. The Austrians retreated in confusion. Still the victory was not a decisive one. While

the fronts were being changed, Melas could have gone downstream along the Po, assembled reinforcements, and offered new resistance. This would have brought about an endless campaign. Leaning against the Alps with his rear, surrounded by Suchet at Acquie, by Turreau below Susa, by Chabran at Trino, and Lapoye near Pavia, the Austrian general was in a desperate condition. Only a complete victory could relieve him. But he could not hope for the latter, as Bonaparte could count upon considerable reinforcements, while he could get none. An agreement was concluded by which Melas was allowed to lead his troops beyond the Mincio on condition that they would not take part in further military operations in this war and of giving up Northern Italy. Bonaparte did not annihilate his enemy, but eliminated him and made him harmless, and attained, at the same time, the aim of the campaign—the conquest of Northern Italy. He owed this success not so much to a battle which had been almost lost, but to the turning of the flank, the winning of the hostile line of retreat; in a like manner as Frederick the Great owed the retaking of Silesia, and the freeing of the left bank of the Vistula, to the turning movements at Leuthen and at Zorndorf. It is true that this was not solely due to the turning movements. A battle and a victory were also necessary. But a decisive victory is possible only when the rear or at least one flank of the enemy is made the aim of the attack.

In 1805 Napoleon was at war with England. Albion was to be vanquished not only on the high seas but also on land. The threatened insular realm attempted to escape the danger by entering into an alliance with other European Powers. Naples, Austria, Bavaria, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark were to advance concentrically and attack the enemy on his own territory. The plan was executed only in its smallest part. Prussia remained neutral, Bavaria took the side of the enemy. Naples, Sweden, and Denmark could not seriously be considered. Austria and Russia alone remained. The principal army under Archduke Charles was to deploy into Italy behind the Adige. A secondary army under Archduke John in the Tyrol, while another secondary army, to

Map 12.

which Bavaria had been originally counted, nominally under Archduke Ferdinand, in reality under General Mack, was to deploy on the Iller. They were to await at that point the Russians with whom they were to advance jointly. Napoleon anticipated the deployment and did not go against Archduke Charles, but sent against him a small army under Massena, while he advanced himself with 210,000 men against Mack who had only 60,000. The movements and distribution of troops of the enemy were not immediately recognized by the Austrians. But had they been known, this circumstance would not and should not have caused a retreat, though the opposing forces were three times as strong as the Austrians. The position on the Iller, with its right resting on Ulm, was very strong. The crossings of the Danube below this point were secured by 16,000 men under Kienmayer. Should it be impossible to hold the Iller, Mack could have crossed the Lech, from position to position until he could join the Russians. This could have been executed if the attack had been a frontal one. The enemy would have grown weaker and weaker as he advanced, would have reached the decisive battlefield with greatly decreased numbers, encountering there not only the Russians, but the Austrian reserves and, possibly, also the armies of the Archdukes. Napoleon, however, made only demonstrations against the front, advanced with four army corps and the Guard from the Rhine, crossed the Neckar between Stuttgart and Neckarelz, two corps advancing simultaneously from Mainz and Frankfort via Wurzburg, and the Bavarians from Bamberg, by Nuremberg. He wanted to cross the Danube with his left flank, depending on the position of the enemy, either at Ingolstadt, Regensburg, or still farther down. He counted on striking the Austrians, if not in the rear, then possibly in the right flank, push them to the west, or at least, to the south and force them to give battle. Mack, relying on indefinite, conflicting, and improbable information about the advance of the enemy, did not wish to give up his position, destroy the wisely combined plan of action and expose the armies in Italy and in the Tyrol to a flank attack. He wanted to be clearly informed of the situation before abandoning the post entrusted to him. When, on 7 October,

he deemed "that it was almost clear that the enemy wanted to repeat his play of Marengo, and attack the army in the rear," five French army corps, the Guard, Bavarians, and the cavalry reserves under Murat reached the Danube between Ingolstadt and Münster, while one corps (Ney) covered the right flank on the left of the Danube against Ulm. Kienmayer had abandoned the crossings in order to retreat beyond the Isar via Aichach and Munich. Mack was too weak for an attack against the powerful superiority of the enemy as the French columns were too close to each other and too well prepared for mutual support. Since Ingolstadt was closer to Munich than Ulm, there could be no thought of breaking through, no matter how far south the movement might be directed. The 210,000 French troops, advancing southward from the Danube, would have sooner or later surrounded Mack's 44,000 men and annihilated them.

After a weak attempt to attack the hostile columns one by one after they had crossed the Danube and after another attempt to escape via Augsburg, which was soon given up, Mack desisted from all operations on the right of the river and returned to Ulm on the 10th, fighting small battles on the way. A success might have been thought of only when the longingly expected Russian troops had arrived. But Napoleon had taken proper steps against this possibility also.

The French left wing (two corps and the Bavarians) had been pushed to the Isar for protection against the Russians. Two corps and the Guard took up a position on the Lech in the vicinity of Augsburg in order to block Mack's road to Vienna and to serve, simultaneously, as a reserve for the left wing. Murat, with the reserve cavalry and one division of infantry, went later towards Ulm. These troops were, however, gradually reinforced, until only Dupont's division remained on the left bank on 11 October. That division sufficed to frighten Mack sufficiently to make him desist from breaking through on that day. The attempt was to be repeated on the 13th, in several echelons. The foremost, (16,000 men under Werneck) succeeded in reaching Herbrechtingen, while Mack remained with the rest in

Ulm, thinking that Napoleon, actuated by a supposed landing of the English at Boulogne and a threatened mobilization of Prussia, would determine upon a precipitate retreat. On the 14th, Ney gained in the face of only a weak Austrian detachment, the left bank of the Danube. The French troops penetrated from here against the northern side, others via Memmingen and Biberach, against the south side of Ulm, which was already invested on the east. On the 17th, 23,000 men were forced to capitulate. Jellachich had escaped earlier with 5,000 men west of the Iller to Vorarlberg. So as not to leave his commander-in-chief in the lurch, Werneck wanted to go back to Ulm, but returned by order of Archduke Ferdinand, and was caught at Trochtelfingen by Murat and Dupont. His troops were scattered and partly forced to lay down their arms. Archduke Ferdinand broke through with 2000 cavalry. Of the 66,000 men, with which Mack had advanced to the Iller, more than half had been annihilated. Even this could have been avoided had Mack firmly resolved to break through on the left bank of the Danube on the 11th or 12th. The French had done enough to block the enemy on the right bank of the Danube, more than enough for protection against the Russians, but on the other hand, not enough for surrounding Mack. Certainty would have been attained best by a quick surrounding. With his great numerical superiority Napoleon could not leave to the enemy for days the possibility of breaking through. He ought not to have counted too much on Mack's indecision and on false reports.

One year later (5) the Prusso-Saxon army stood in position with about 100,000 men to the north of the Thuringian forest, principally between the Saale and the Werra on a parallel with Weimar and Erfurt. Napoleon crossed with 160,000 men in three columns, via Bayreuth and Bamberg, the Franconian forest and the Upper Saale with the intention of turning the left hostile flank and attacking it. This aim could be reached by turning the three marching columns according to the position of the enemy. Unfortunately no definite information concerning this position was at hand. Two

Map 13.

(5) See "1806" and "Jena" in Vol. II of the "Collected Writings."

combats had taken place on the upper Saale, but without elucidating the situation. Napoleon thought at times to maintain the general direction of march to the north, at others, he deemed it necessary to turn eastward. One march column was halted, another was advanced. This caused some confusion to the battalion square formation in which the French army was marching and which was equally efficient for the march to the front as well as to the flank. When a flanking movement had to be executed on the Saale, it was found that at each of the crossings of Kosen and Dornburg was one corps, while the main forces were directed toward Jena, although according to the position then occupied by the enemy on the line: Jena—Weimar—Erfurt, the principal forces ought to have been directed to the crossings at Namburg, Kosen, and Freiburg. Napoleon thought that, corresponding to his own distribution of forces, the enemy had likewise assembled his army opposite Jena, leaving small detachments or no troops at all at Kosen and Dornburg. Consequently he wanted to attack the enemy at Jena and hold him in front until the corps had come up from Kosen and Dornburg in order to throw him into the Thuringian forest. This plan did not correspond to the actual situation: the Prussian main forces were marching on Kosen and only a secondary corps under Hohenlohe, supported by Ruchel's army reserve, was to block the passes at Camburg and Dornburg, while the remaining forces were to stay in Jena without allowing themselves to be drawn into a serious combat, i.e., retreat when attacked. This problem could surely have been executed in one day, at least, insofar as the greatly superior enemy was gradually allowed to cross the Ilm at Apolda. This would give the Prussian main army time to strike an annihilating blow to the vastly weaker enemy at Kosen. Three French divisions could be held back by three Prussian divisions and thrown into the Saale by a large reserve still available. That this did not happen was due to the fact that the Duke of Brunswick, the commander-in-chief, who was well informed of the battle conditions, had been severely wounded and that the King, on whom the leadership had devolved, had not the nerve to continue the battle, having been left in the lurch by all the assistants and advisers

he had called together, and gave the order to retreat in order to join, on the followng day, the army of Hohenlohe and resume the combat according to the order of the commander-in-chief. In the meanwhile, Hohenlohe did not fight any rearguard combat nor execute a gradual retreat, corresponding to the problem entrusted to him, but had been enticed into a combat with changed front against forces almost five times as strong as his own and was completely beaten, as was also Rüchel.

Napoleon's battle plan could not succeed, according to ordinary human calculations. He had turned too soon. His principal attack had been directed against a secondary army in a not very effective direction. Nevertheless he won an annihilating victory because the attack was still directed against the original flank, and hence, the retreat to the Oder could be executed only in a wide curve along the shorter radius of which the pursuer could reach, undisturbed and quickly, the same objective.

It would have been strange if Napoleon's and Frederick's turning movements, flank and rear attacks, had not been imitated by their opponents. Prince von Hildburghausen had received full recognition in 1757 for the battle of Prague. The commander-in-chief of 64,000 Imperial and French troops thought that he could easily turn and inflict a crushing victory upon the 21,600 Prussians at Rossback. The turning movement, however, encountered another turning movement and the planned attack met with a counter-attack. Covered by a ridge, the Prussians came up close, surprised and threw themselves from all sides on the head of the narrow marching columns, while strong battery fire against the deep flank prevented deployment. Frederick himself had shown that his turning movements could best be parried by an attack. Napoleon acted in the same way.

The allied Russians and Austrians thought that they would find Napoleon with 75,000 men on 5 December, 1805, in a position difficult to attack, on the Brunn—Olmutz road in rear of the Goldbach (Goldbrook) between Kritschen and Kobelnitz. They decided to keep the hostile front on the main road occupied by a demonstration by Bagration (11,500 men) from Holubitz, by the Russian reserve under Grand

Map 14.

Duke Constantine (7000 men) from Walk—Muhle, and by 6000 cavalry under Prince Lichtenstein, 24,500 men in all, while the remaining troops were to cross the Goldbach between Kobelnitz and Telnitz, Kienmayer from Aujezd, Dochturoff from Little Hostiehradeck, Langeron from the south, Prybyshevsky from northeast, Kolovrat from east of Pratze, 60,000 men in all, and attack the hostile flank between Schlapanitz and Turas. This turning movement might have been successful had Napoleon not left his position like Prince Charles of Lorraine at Leuthen or like Count Fermor at Zorndorf, and if the fords of the Goldbach could have been crossed without resistance. Neither the one nor the other condition was fulfilled. Napoleon had the crossings at Telnitz, Dorf, and Schloss-Sokolnitz occupied by Margaron with five battalions and twelve squadrons, and decided to attack with Soult (one half of Legrand's division at Kobelnitz, St. Hilaire at Puntowitz and Vandamme at Jirkowitz), Lannes (the divisions Caffarelli and Suchet on the Olmutz road), and Murat with the reserve cavalry, reinforced by Kellermann between Soult and Lannes in the first line, with the grenadier division (Oudinot) in rear of St. Hilaire, and Madotte's corps (division Drouet and Rivaud) in rear of Vandamme in the second line, and with the Guard, in the third line, striking the right hostile flank of the turning columns, after having routed the enemy immediately opposite them. The plan was not executed entirely as he had thought it out. Kienmayer, Dochturoff, Langeron, and Prybyshevsky had already marched off and reached the Goldbach with the heads of their forces. Kolowrat, however, had been held back by Kutusoff, the nominal commander-in-chief, and had just begun his march to Kobelnitz via Pratze when Soult ascended the commanding plateau north of the village and surprised him by an attack. Kolowrat's column was attacked in front by St. Hilaire, in the flank, by Vandamme. In spite of the unfavorable position in which he was thus placed, the Austrian general succeeded in deploying his troops and resisting the enemy for two hours. He was forced to retreat via Zbeischow to Wazan only when Bernadotte's Division Drouet attacked his right flank. Threatened in the left flank, the following were

Map 15.

forced to join this retreat: Prince Lichtenstein, who, supported by the Russian cavalry of the Guard had sustained a series of fluctuating combats against Murat, Kellermann, and the French cavalry of the Guard; further the Russian cavalry which had advanced to Blaschowitz, was attacked by the Divisions Rivaud and Caffarelli; and lastly Bagration, who had opposed an obstinate resistance to the pursuing Lannes in the pass at the Posorwitz post, in order to move on unmolested to Austerlitz, while Lichtenstein and Grand Duke Constantine reached at Krzenowitz, the left bank of the Littawa creek.

Of the three turning columns, Kienmayer and Dochturoff had, in the meanwhile, forced a crossing, after a lengthy combat, over the Goldbach at Telnitz, Langeron at Dorf, and Prybyshevsky at Schloss-Sokolnitz, and had occupied with part of their forces the height situated to the west. They were, however, prevented from advancing further by Davout, who had arrived to reinforce Margaron with the Division Friant and the dragoons of Bourcier from Great Raigern. Only a numerically inferior force of Frenchmen was opposed here to the mass of the allies, but it succeeded not only in maintaining its position, but even in gaining advantages. For this compressed mass could not gain ground to deploy and make use of its superiority. The full disadvantage of their position came to light only when Napoleon had forced Kolowrat to retreat and sent Soult with two and one half divisions, followed by Oudinot, against the right flank of the turning columns, while himself occupying with the corps of Bernadotte and the Guard, the heights of Pratze. St. Hilaire and Legrand, who had been directed towards Sokolnitz, placed the right column under Prybyshevsky in the worst position. A few Russian battalions were thrown hastily against the flanking attack, but were annihilated by the superior forces. Others endeavored to escape to the west across the Goldbach and came under the cross fire of Davout's and St. Hilaire's artillery. The entire column was either exterminated or taken captive. Langeron, however, obtained time, through these battles, to save, via Telnitz, the nine battalions which had remained east of the creek. Doch-

turoff and Kienmayer had turned back toward Aujezd, but when Vandamme advanced against this village, and after the bridge had broken down here, attempted to flee over the dam between the Monitz and Satschan ponds. Pursued by artillery fire, the remnants of the allies reached Mileschowitz, via Neudorf and Ottnitz.

Napoleon boasted that he had broken the enemy in two in the center at Austerlitz and scattered the foe in various directions. It is, however, difficult to recognize a breaking through or scattering of the enemy from the events of 2 December. The allies were assembled in the evening south of the Littawa. The French army, on the contrary, was divided into two parts. The main forces stood opposite the defeated enemy between Monitz and Krzenowitz, while a smaller force (Lannes and Murat) was stationed on the Olmutz road near the post office of Posorwitz. Napoleon had written to Soult early on the 3d: "The Emperor will attach himself in person to the heels of the enemy. In his opinion nothing has been achieved in war as long as there remains something to be done. A victory is not complete where more can be achieved." Napoleon did not pay much attention to this rule himself. Touch with the enemy was completely lost on the 2d. It seemed that Napoleon had really remained in the belief that he had scattered the enemy in two directions. Accordingly, he let Soult and Bernadotte pursue on 3 December in a southern direction, and Lannes and Murat in the direction of Olmutz. The pursuit in the latter direction proved soon to be an airy notion. The combined pursuit thus lost its importance. This, however, was of no consequence. The defeated enemy was so intimidated that Emperor Francis arrived on the 4th, in person, in Napoleon's camp and sued for an armistice. The victory of Austerlitz would have sufficed, even without a pursuit, to throw out of the field, not only the allied Russo-Austrian troops, but also the advancing Archduke Charles, the Russian reinforcements, and the Prussian army.

A similar picture to the campaign of Austerlitz is offered us by that of Prussian-Eylau, although the result was different.(6)

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(6) See "Campaign of Prussian-Eylau," Vol. 2 of Schlieffen's works.

In the beginning of the year 1807, the allied Russians and Prussians stood: L'Estocq at Angerburg; Bennigsen between Johannisburg and the Narew, behind the Pissa; Essen between the Narew and the Bug; while opposite them stood the French between the Narew and the Haff, in rear of the Omuleff and the Passarge. The positions were not yet occupied, the quarters not yet taken up, when Bennigsen, the commander-in-chief of the allies, broke camp. Leaving Essen on the Narew and a weak detachment under Sedmoratzky at Goniond, he marched in two columns between the Mazurian lakes, accompanied on the right by the Prussians under L'Estocq, against the left wing of the enemy. The French, standing in deep and extended formations, were surprised, but retreated in a southern direction without many losses. The allies followed and reached by 31 January, the line: Freystadt — Deutsch-Eylau — Osterode — Allenstein. They had succeeded, as well as Napoleon on former occasions, in completely gaining one flank of the enemy. The position seemed most favorable. Should they be able to attack successfully, they would throw the enemy against the Vistula, the Bug, and the neutral Austrian territory. His complete annihilation could then be hoped for. But Bennigsen was neither strong nor bold enough for such an enterprise. He hoped to be able to force the enemy to retreat beyond the Vistula by threatening his left wing himself and the hostile right wing by Essen. Napoleon, however, did not go back, but answered one turning movement by another, a threatened attack by a real attack. He covered himself with one corps (Lannes and Beker) against Essen, and turned with the rest against the principal enemy. This movement was greatly facilitated by the position and distribution of the troops in cantonments. In the beginning of January, the advanced French lines stood on the line: Myszyniec—Willenberg—Chorzellen—Gilgenburg—Neumark. The French had turned the enemy as well as he had turned them. Whichever attacked and conquered the other, would throw the enemy in the one case against the Vistula and the Bug, in the other, against the Haff. Bennigsen would not permit this. His retreat had not yet been cut off. He could go back to Konigsberg or, via Wehlau, to Tilsit. He was, however, apprehensive

Map 16.

of starting the retreat of his own accord. He wanted to be forced to do the inevitable. A favorable position on the left bank of the Alle near Allenstein made him place there his main forces. This improved Napoleon's position still more. It became similar to that of the previous October. The enemy stood, not left of the Saale, but left of the Alle. Napoleon could, by advancing on the right bank in his battalions-in-square formation, bring the enemy to a standstill at the first serious obstacle, even if the latter had succeeded in evacuating in time the recently occupied position on the Alle, could turn him and attack him under the most favorable circumstances. The enemy, however, did not seem desirous of abandoning his position on the Alle.

On 4 February, he was to be attacked in front and on the left flank as well as in the rear over the Alle crossings situated below him. Bennigsen did not await the attack, but started to retreat in the night. The road to the Alle was threatened too much. He therefore went a little to the west and wanted to reach the road to Wehlau by a slight curve via Wolfsdorf, Landsberg, and Friedland. Napoleon followed. Of his six corps commanders, Lannes had been left behind to cover the right flank against Essen; Bernadotte, who was to cover the left flank and secure Thorn, had remained behind too long. Ney, Augereau, and Soult pursued the retreating enemy on two sides and fell on his rear, though they had not intended to do so. Davout alone remained on the road which the entire army ought to have taken to "cut off," "outflank" the enemy and "press against his left flank." Ney was soon sent to the left also in pursuit of the Prussian corps under L'Estocq. All attempts to push Soult over to the other side to Davout remained unsuccessful. Augereau was not sufficiently strong to break the resistance of the Russian rear guard. This would not have been important, according to Hannibal's point of view, if, Augereau, unable to advance, had even to recede a little. The flanking attacks of Davout and Soult would then have been more effective. Napoleon called Soult time and again to the main road for direct pursuit. The enemy, whom he wanted to "cut off" at all events, had to be driven back more rapidly.

The Russians had reached on the 7th, East Prussian-Eylau. Soult, then Augereau, Murat and the Guard, had followed them to this city. Ney stood on the left between Orschen and Landsberg, Davout on the right with two divisions at Beisleiden and one at Bartenstein. Bennigsen feared that, on account of the sharp turn to the east of the Friedland—Wehlau road, from Prussian-Eylau, he would be unable to ward off an attack against his left flank should he continue on his march. He decided to accept the inevitable attack not on the march but in a good position. Map 17.

Napoleon did not intend to make use of the advantage offered him by the peculiarities of the road, but wished to continue the pursuit, as heretofore, with advance and rear-guard combats. Ney was, consequently, sent again after the Prussians. Only the sight of the Russians who had come up to the heights east of Prussian-Elau, made the situation clear. The position was still very favorable. The enemy stood, like Terentius Varro, with a narrow front and deep formation. Had Napoleon assembled his forces, he would have been able to attack the enemy, who possessed almost equal strength to his own, with Augereau and the Guard in front, with Soult and perhaps also with Ney on the right, and with Davout on the left flank, while Murat would fall upon the rear. Chances for the annihilation of the enemy were as good as at Cannae. Napoleon, however, intended differently. Augereau was to attack the front, Davout the left flank, while Soult was to cover his own flank, the Guard and Murat remaining behind as reserves. Only two corps were designated for the conquering of a very strong position. These forces were insufficient the more so as they did not attack simultaneously, but one corps after the other. The dense masses, led by Augereau, under cover of a snow storm, almost reached the Russian position, but were thrown back by a devastating canister fire and scattered by infantry and cavalry. Murat saved only remnants. A new advance against the front was impossible. Napoleon had to limit himself to repulsing a counterattack. Davout succeeded, however, in gaining some advantage after a lively and costly attack of the Russian left flank. The front was, in the meanwhile, not sufficiently occupied and the

flank, consequently, was so difficult to surround that Davout's forces did not suffice to overpower it. The Russians stood at right angle with the front of Soult and the Guard facing towards Prussian-Eylau, their left flank opposite Davout. Neither of the two opponents had the strength or the desire to renew the attack. Napoleon had long ago called Ney; and Bennigsen had called L'Estocq with the Prussians. One of the two was to bring the decision to the one or the other side. Ney did not come up. L'Estocq, though bringing but few troops, arrived at the eleventh hour. The right wing of Davout was thrown back, and later his center, with the assistance of the Russians. Both armies stood in the evening opposite each other almost in the same position as in the morning. There were no victors and no vanquished. On the following day Bennigsen started his retreat towards Konigsberg. Napoleon followed him slowly. However, unable to continue the campaign, he too went back soon.

The day of Prussian-Eylau marked a turning point in Napoleon's life as a general. The series of annihilating battles—Marengo, Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena—does not continue. The campaign of Pultusk, planned in a similar way as that of Jena, had miscarried completely. This could be explained by extraordinarily difficult circumstances. But Prussian-Eylau had likewise not succeeded. Nevertheless Friedland(7) (14 June, 1807) may still be considered as a successful battle of annihilation. But Napoleon himself could not attribute the victory in full to his own self. The enemy had prepared the success too well. The Russians had crossed aimlessly, even blunderingly, inadvertently, the Alle at Friedland, took up a position with their rear to the river and thus accepted the attack of the enemy, twice as strong as they. On account of numerical superiority of the enemy, a frontal attack developed of itself an attack against one of the flanks. An attack against the other flank might likewise have taken place, had not too great forces been placed in the reserve. Nevertheless the result was a powerful one. In addition to this, the Russians set on fire the suburb through which, and the bridge over which they had to pass to save them-

(7)See "Campaign of Friedland." Vol. II "Collected Writings."

selves, not behind but in front of them. That Napoleon, on being informed that the enemy stood as yet at Friedland, paid no attention to the fatigue of his troops and hurried against him in quick decision, suffices to crown him with everlasting glory. The plan of the battle, however, was placed in his hand by the enemy himself.

Napoleon seems to strive to maintain in his later campaigns, the method to which he owed many brilliant successes. It was so in the Regensburg campaign of 1809(8). The Austrians intended to surprise the hostile armies, consisting of Frenchmen and the troops of the Rhine Confederation, before their junction. On 10 April, Archduke Charles crossed, with 120,000 men in round numbers, the Inn at Brannau and below it; on the 16th, forced a crossing over the Isar at Landshut, against a Bavarian Division, and advanced in the direction of Kelheim in order to reach the right bank of the Danube, and unite there with two army corps (50,000 men) which were marching from Bohemia under Bellegarde, to defeat all the hostile detachments, situated to the north of the river, and by marching upstream to render untenable the position which the hostile main forces intended to occupy beyond the Lech. This was the answer to Napoleon's campaign against Mack. The French had to be driven to the south and, if possible, to the east. Map 18.

When Napoleon arrived on the 17th, at the theater of war, he found the Bavarians, under Lefebvre, in retreat on the lower Abens. Behind them and further along the Danube the Division Demont was at Ingolstadt; the Cavalry Division Nansouty at Neuburg, the Wurttembergians under Vandamme at Donauworth; the Division Rouyer (the troops of the small Rhine states) at Nordlingen; Massena and Oudinot on the Lech, between Augsburg and Landsberg; and Davout north of Regensburg. The advance of the Archduke did not give much promise, considering the condition of affairs. Ingolstadt and Regensburg were invested by the enemy, the bridge at Kelheim was destroyed; it was probable the construction of a new bridge somewhere between these two points would be opposed by hostile troops on the left of

(8) See Mayerhoffer von Vedropolje. K. & K. Kriegsarchiv. Krieg 1809. Wienna 1907. Vol. I. Regensburg.

the Danube. It was impossible to cross the river without one. Moreover, one enemy was retreating across the Abens before them, another was on the right flank at Regensburg, while a third was marching toward the left wing from Augsburg. They were entering a cul-de-sac from which an outlet could be found only through a rapid retreat or the complete overpowering of one of the three enemies. The Archduke saw the situation clearly when, marching slowly in two columns, he reached on the 18th, the locality of Rohr. Massena was still too distant for an attack against him. The Bavarians, advancing against the Abens and falling back on their reserves, would have rendered the position of the enemy still worse. The Archduke decided to move against Davout with his main forces and to annihilate him with the assistance of Bellegarde. The plan would have been excellent if the bridge over the Danube at Regensburg had been accessible to Bellegarde. This necessary condition did not exist. Davout had crossed over to the right bank of the Danube and marched from Regensburg on the 19th, though holding the fortified city with a garrison. Bellegarde had to fight for his crossing. Until then the Archduke had to oppose Davout with his own forces only. Only half of these were available. After the crossing of the Isar, Hiller was sent with 26,000 men to Moosburg to cover the left flank, and Vecsey with 6000 men to Geiselhoring for the protection of the right wing. Archduke Ludwig, with 18,700 men, was despatched to Siegenburg, and General Thierry with 5,800 via Offenstetten against the Abens. There remained 63,000 men to fight Davout's 57,000. This was a numerical superiority far from adequate for the solution of the problem. It is apparent that the Archduke had greatly exceeded the necessary limits, by sending out the flank covering detachments and, in weighing the fighting power destined to beat the enemy, had fallen short just as much. It may serve him as an excuse that other generals in similar situations, and even Napoleon, had done scarcely better in 1813. This excuse, however, did not help him over the fatality of his action. He ought to have had a far greater force than 63,000 men to gain a decision. The problem here was to annihilate one of the best of the French Fieldmarshals and one of the best French

Map 19.

corps or at least, eliminate them. Should the Archduke limit himself to hold back his opponent or to press upon him ever so little, the two other French corps would, in the shortest time, fall upon his rear and flank. His position was desperate. Fortunately, the enemy was not willing to take full advantage of this desperate situation.

Moltke has said: "The junction of separate armies on the battlefield I consider the greatest feat which strategic leadership can achieve." Napoleon succumbed under this high demand on the leader four years later at Leipsig, and a second time, six years later at Waterloo. He ought to have felt the effectiveness of such a junction, yet he did not wish then to use this means. He remained faithful to his method of leading the entire army against the flank or the rear of the enemy. Supposing that the Archduke would turn against Davout at Regensburg, the central army was to deploy left of the Abens, Davout on the right of the Danube (9) advance from Regensburg to Neustadt and Oudinot join the right wing from Augsburg, via Pfaffenhofen. Napoleon himself soon doubted the possibility of executing such a march to the front in the vicinity of the enemy, as well as its conforming to his purpose. Massena had reached with the head of his long column (Oudinot) Pfaffenhofen on the 18th, and dislodged from this point a hostile detachment. Would it be better to send him on the following day to Neustadt or would it not be more simple to push him straight via Au against the rear of the enemy? Napoleon decided on the recourse of letting Massena's column deploy on the 19th, near Pfaffenhofen, although the twisted skein had to be unravelled again on the following day in some direction or other.

The Archduke wanted likewise to advance on Regensburg on the 19th, in order to annihilate Davout with the assistance of Bellegarde. Davout, however, without coming in Map 20.

(9) Bringing Davout on the left bank towards Ingolstadt, as had been planned, would have robbed Napoleon of all the advantages of his position and saved the Archduke from all his difficulties. The latter could have joined Bellegarde on the right or left, according to his desire and gained secure communications. Davout's march along the right bank was absolutely necessary. However, he ought to have been directed straight against the enemy, whom Napoleon deemed weaker than he was in reality, and not ordered to turn his flank.

touch with the enemy, marched to Abensberg(10). For this purpose he had the trains advance along the main road along Danube, two divisions marched via Teugn, and two via Saalhaupt towards Abensberg, while the cavalry went with some infantry detachments under Montbrun, via Dinzling. On the Austrian side the following were to march: Hohenzollern via Hausen and Teugn; Rosenberg with a flank detachment, via Schneidhart to Saalhaupt and with the main forces to Dinzling; Lichtenstein via Sanding; Veosey from Eggmühl to Regensburg. The Archduke hoped to reach the position: Wolkering—Abbach, ahead of the enemy and to hold him at this point until the arrival of Bellegarde. But Davout was quicker, made the two columns turn to the right at the approach of the enemy so as to reach the Regensburg—Abensberg road via Teugn and Lower Saal. The foremost division (Morand) reached this road without molestation. The second (Gudin) reached the goal only after flanking combats, though not severe ones. The third (St. Hilaire,), however, was forced to turn to the left at Teugn, as Hohenzollern was advancing via Hausen. The French general immediately sent his entire force into battle, while Hohenzollern used only his advance guard, reinforcing it gradually by regiments and battalions, but could do nothing against the wider front of the enemy and was, in the end, attacked on the right wing by the fourth division, of Friant. Suffering heavy losses, he was forced to retreat to Hausen, pursued as far as the southern edge of the wooded ridge. Rosenberg had to sustain with his two columns tedious, but not decisive combats in the wooded terrain, which was difficult to observe, against Montbrun and against the flank guard sent out from Saalhaupt, allowed himself to be deceived and kept his main forces back. Lichtenstein, marching in rear of Rosenberg, did not reach Sanding in the evening but only Schierling; and retreated, without combat, in the dark, to Vecsey on the Regensburg road toward Höhenberg. In the

(10) It seems that Napoleon did not think that the Archduke had advanced quite so far on the 18th, but that he would march on the Eggmühl road against Davout. So much the more was it necessary for the latter to march against the enemy and bar the way to Regensburg. Should the offensive seem too hazardous to the Marshal, he could have awaited an attack in a position near Wolkering.

evening there stood: on the one side, Hohenzollern at Hausen, Rosenberg at Dinzling; on the other side, St. Hilaire and Friant at Teugn, Montbrun at Peising—Abbach, Morand and Gudin, placed from that time on under command of Lannes, with their leading troops at Ober-Fecking, Reissig, and Schambach. Bellegarde's army had remained on the left of the Danube after a vain attack against Regensberg.

Davout had skilfully avoided a general victory, but could not get out of the way of a partial one. Had he not obeyed the artificial order of the Emperor(11), but followed the instinct of the soldier, he would not have turned his two columns from Teugn and Saalhaupt to the right towards Lower Saal, but would have gone straight at the enemy and defeated Rosenberg with two divisions just as he had thrown back Hohenzollern with the same. Since the latter had to retreat to Hausen, the other would have had to go at least as far as Hellring and Paring. Davout and Lannes would have resumed the attack on the following day, while Napoleon with Lefebvre, Vandamme, Demont, and Nansouty would have advanced via Siegenburg, Biburg, and Abensburg against Archduke Ludwig and Thierry, while Massena would have marched from Pfaffenhofen or, if possible, from Au (which he could have easily reached in the morning of the 19th) to Pfeffenhausen. The campaign could have been ended in the evening and, at the latest on the 21st. Through pushing Davout to the side and holding back Massena the danger to the Austrians of being surrounded, was eliminated. The two opponents stood facing each other though in widely separated groups. Surrounding could no longer be thought of. Only Hohenzollern's corps was threatened between Davout and Lannes in a rather critical position. An Austrian attack of this wing, which was later urgently recommended, promised no success. It is true that Davout could have been kept

(11) Napoleon had brought his army, with the assistance of Davout's flanking march, to a strength of 75,000 men. Since he attacked with this mass, on the following day, only the 24,500 men of Archduke Ludwig and of General Thierry, the advantage obtained was of no great importance. It was far more important that Archduke Charles had been delivered from the threatened attack of his flank and obtained the possibility of joining Bellegarde.

busy by Rosenberg. But an attack against Lannes by the recently defeated corps under Hohenzollern could be so much the less successful as the French center, marching towards the Abens, would have come upon its rear.

It is almost impossible to admit that Archduke Charles could have reviewed the entire situation in the evening of the 19th. He knew, however, that only under the condition of concentrating all his fighting strength would he be able to defeat an opponent who, as the previous battles had shown, had troops superior in numbers and in training. The most urgent thing was to open a crossing at Regensburg and bring over Bellegarde with his 50,000 men. Until then the Archduke intended to be on the defensive. Rosenberg was to hold back Davout at first, Hohenzollern was to go back to Leierndorf over the Great Laaber, Thierry and Archduke Ludwig join them in the night, and Hiller more to the left, having reached Mainburg, come up to cover the flank via Pfeffenhausen. Archduke Charles thought that on the 20th, he would be able to withstand, in a good position, an attack by the left hostile flank. Lichtenstein was sent to Regensburg to open access to the Danube to Bellegarde. The latter was to attack the left hostile flank with 50,000 men on the 21st. The plan was surely not without hope of success and the position not unfavorable. It shaped itself still more favorably on account of the measures taken by Napoleon. He had translated Davout's message of the 19th: "I have maintained the field of battle after severe fighting," into "l'ennemi bat en retraire à toutes jambes." The Archduke, being in full flight, was to be pursued not only "lépeé dans less reins," but cut off. Should this not be possible any more on the Isar, it should surely take place on the Inn. Massena received the order to march to Freising on the 20th, in order to reach Braunau, by a shorter route, before the Austrians. Not quite in conformity with the purpose of pursuit Oudinot, who stood with Massena at Pfaffenhofen, was simultaneously sent in an opposite direction to Neustadt. The initial plan of assembling there the entire army was to be carried out, at least in part, in spite of the seemingly altered situation. Massena and Oudinot were thus, with one third of the French forces, placed out of the scope of activity for at least two days. The Archduke would encounter on the

20th, in rear of the Great Laaber only equally strong hostile forces and on the 21st, after the junction with Bellegarde, he could have attacked the enemy with numerically greater forces. This beautiful outlook was frustrated by the Austrian corps commanders. Archduke Ludwig, insisting upon his better knowledge of the situation and on the right of a corps commander to make independent decisions, did not want to give up the protection of the Landshut road and leave his position on the Abens. Contrary to the order received, he remained there during the night and also during the following morning. When he began to understand in the forenoon of the 20th, the difficulties of his position and was on the point of retreating, Lannes with the divisions of Morand and Gudin was already starting from Schamback, Map 21. Lefebvre with two Bavarian Divisions and Nansouty, was starting from Abensberg, Vandamme with Wrede, the Wurtembergers and Dumont were marching from Biburg, in all, 75,000 men against the 24,500 Austrians deployed as a cordon to the right of the Abens. Many of the small detachments were cut off and annihilated. The remainder retreated towards Pfeffenhausen. Hiller, intending to restore the combat by a counter blow, marched by this point to Rottenburg, came here upon Lannes, and returned to Turkenfeld. The enemy followed by both roads up to Gieseltschausen and Ludmansdorf.

Napoleon still believed that the hostile main forces, past whose left wing he had just marched, were still retreating towards Landshut and thought that he had scattered a rear-guard covering this retreat. He hoped that, by taking up an immediate pursuit on the 21st, he would force the entire hostile army to halt at the Landshut bridge. Massena was to advance from Freising on the right bank of the Isar and complete the annihilation. Lefebvre, with the Divisions of Demont and Deroi, was placed at Bachl to reinforce Davout and to protect the left flank against a possible attack by Bellegarde.

In order to escape the threatened doom, Hiller and Archduke Ludwig continued their retreat during the night. They found at Landshut the roads and the entrances to the town completely blocked by trains. Only with great difficulty and loss of time could the task be overcome. Before this could

be done and before the troops could pass through the town, the pursuers came up on the 21st. Fighting took place northwest of the town and in the town itself. The pursuers were, however, forced to halt by the deployment of the pursued on the right bank of the Isar. Massena arrived only after further retreat had started in orderly manner and the rear guard had left the heights situated on the right side. The Austrians succeeded, though with great losses, in continuing their march unmolested towards the Inn.

Napoleon, seeing the enemy before him, and from the messages sent him by Davout, was now convinced that he had followed for two days with the greater part of his troops only a secondary army and that the hostile main forces stood in his left rear. He decided to entrust the pursuit of Hiller and Archduke Ludwig to Bessieres with 15,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, to leave Wrede in Landshut, and to march with 60,000 men on Eggmühl in order to surround Archduke Charles and annihilate him.

On the 20th, the latter had taken the III Corps (Hohenzollern) beyond the Great Laaber without being molested by the enemy. Lichtenstein had succeeded in bringing about the capitulation of the weak garrison holding Regensburg, which was threatened from both banks. Communication with the left bank was thus restored. It might be supposed that Bellegarde would now cross the river and on the 21st, attack with 50,000 men the left flank, while Archduke Charles with 60,000 men would attack Davout and Lefebvre in front. In a most surprising manner only the II Corps under Kolowrat was on the spot while the I Corps was far distant, marching toward Neumarkt. Even this one corps did not cross the river, but started on the march to Hemau. The order, given days before, to cross over to the right bank of the Danube, is said to have been lost. Bellegarde, not favorably impressed by recent events, was still executing the original plan of operations; he wanted to join the Archduke on the left of the Danube in order to attack the enemy behind the Lech. Should it be impossible for him to
Map 22. cross, he could do nothing better than force the enemy to retreat by a diversion on the left bank. The operation against Regensburg was considered a secondary event. When the mistake or misunderstanding was recognized and

the two corps called back, Kolowrat coming up in the evening of the 21st, before Regensburg, the favorable moment had passed.

According to an order received the evening of the 20th, Davout was to march wherever there were any enemies, in order to annihilate or capture them. The following letter was sent, at the same time, to Lefebvre: "Pursue the enemy, the sword against their ribs." In conformity with the above, Davout marched on the 21st, from Teugn to Hausen, and thence with Friant, via Hellring, to Paring and with St. Hilaire to Lanquaid. Lefebvre directed his march to the same point from Bachl. Hohenzollern retreated, fighting rearguard combats, beyond the Allersdorf creek south towards Schierling. Rosenberg marched from Dinzling to Laichling. At the positions of Lindach, Upper Laichling, Upper Sanding, on the one hand, and Allersdorf creek, Schierling, Kolbing, the edge of the woods, on the other, serious fighting took place until dark with thrust and counter thrust.

Archduke Charles knew nothing on the evening of the 21st, of the retreat of Archduke Ludwig and Hiller, nor of Napoleon's advance to Landshut. He was still counting on the reinforcement of his left wing by the corps of the two generals and wanted to attack Napoleon with them and Kolowrat, expecting the advance of the enemy from Abensberg downstream along the Danube. Upon receiving information in the night of Archduke Ludwig's and Hiller's fate, he did not deem his position greatly damaged since a great part of the French troops would be hampered by the two generals. Rosenberg was to maintain, on the 22d, his position opposite Davout and Lefebvre, Vucassovich to cover with his brigade the left flank south of the Great Laaber, the Grenadiers to remain in reserve at Mooshof, Hohenzollern to advance from Alt-Eglofsheim to Dinzling, Lichtenstein from Gebelkofen to Peising, Kolowrat from Upper Isling to Abbach where there was only a small hostile detachment and carry the latter off by frontal attack. A success could be hoped for if the projected movements had been begun in the morning. But, since it was necessary to await Kolowrat, it was possible to break up simultaneously only in the afternoon at the time when Napoleon with 60,000 men, marching from

Map 23.

Landshut, surprised Eggmühl by appearing there, and when Davout and Lefebvre advanced for attack. According to theory, the impending flanking attack would be harmless, as the Great Laaber, a deep and wide stream, could be crossed only at an easily defended point near Eggmühl. However, there existed other crossings. Vucassovich could not resist the attack made by Lefebvre from Schierling, by Vandamme from Deggenbach, by Lannes via Rogging and by the reserve cavalry which forded the stream at several points. He had to cross the Laaber and then recross it. Rosenberg, attacked on two sides by greatly superior numbers, could escape from the throttling embrace only through heavy fighting and great losses. Hohenzollern, as well as Lichtenstein, had
Map 24. to be called in, cavalry had to be opposed to the pressure, until it was possible to assemble the entire army in the dark of night on the heights of Grass and at Burgweinting. There was no staying at that point either. A retreat to the left bank of the Danube had to be effected in the night of the 23d, and with the aid of an emergency bridge. The retreat was not yet completed when the morning dawned and the enemy moved again. The Austrian cavalry, which had fought gloriously the day before, was again forced to do its utmost in order to keep the enemy from the ponton bridge.

On the 25th, Archduke Charles has assembled Bellegarde, Kolowrat, Hohenzollern, Rosenberg, and Lichtenstein at Cham behind the Regen. Hiller and Archduke Ludwig were at Alt-Otting behind the Inn. Napoleon turned against this part of the enemy. During the seven days fighting the Austrians had lost 40,000 men, while their opponent had lost only 16,000.

To cause losses of one third of its strength to an army of 120,000 men and to scatter them in two parts from one point to the other, by an army of 180,000 men, would have been an enviable thing for any general. For Napoleon, who had in his hands the means of completely annihilating this army and "to close the matter with Germany within from two to three days," this was hardly sufficient. The Emperor stood on the 17th with three armies of about 60,000 men each near Augsburg, along the Danube with the heads at Neustadt and Regensburg. All he had to do was to advance

against the Archduke who, after leaving 26,000 men on the Isar, marched into the river bend Abens—Danube with 94,000 men, to attack him from three sides and to execute what Moltke deemed the highest that strategic leadership could achieve. On 18 April, Massena reached Pfaffenhofen. Lefebvre assembled his troops on the Abens. Davout crossed the Danube at Regensburg. Massena could have reached Au on the 19th, Lefebvre could have closed up more, Davout could at least have occupied the position: Abbach—Wolkering, on the right bank of the Danube, and on the 20th all three could have advanced against the enemy wherever he might be. The Archduke was, it is true, in the position to turn against any one of the three opponents with his entire force. Yet it would have been impossible for him to assemble a greatly numerically superior force since part of his army was held back by the Bavarians posted on the Abens. He would have succeeded, at any rate, in throwing back one of his opponents. This would have aided him as little as it helped Terentius Varro at Cannae to throw back the Iberians and Gauls. If it were impossible for him to annihilate one of his opponents or to put him at least out of the field, even a victory would not have saved him from being completely surrounded. Napoleon rejected the simple measure of a concentric advance. He wished to adhere to the tried method of assembling his entire army in the rear or on the flank of the enemy. This method which brought him brilliant success at Marengo, Ulm, and Jena, which could have achieved it at Prussian-Eylau, failed him here. The enemy had already advanced too far to allow a complete execution of the difficult advance. Hampered in his plans, Napoleon was forced to make new plans day by day, because of the false information received by him and the misleading ideas he formed about the enemy. The Archduke acted in a similar way. Napoleon finally won in this contest. And this is no wonder. He had a force greatly superior in numbers in his favor. His troops were extraordinarily fit for marching, superior to all others in battle, in covered and broken terrain. His marshals executed his orders, putting all their power into their execution, while the Austrian commanders lacked in general training and discipline for effective action. Above all, Napoleon made

his decisions quickly and, whatever might be their outcome, put them into immediate execution with determination and energy, while the Archduke awaited the clearing up of the situation, remained stationary and allowed matters to develop against him. He owed the fact of escaping the threatened annihilation to the measures of Napoleon himself who not only cut off the exit via Landshut too late, but opened a new one via Regensburg.

The final results of the April campaign were: the Austrians had suffered severe losses, but were not annihilated. Four weeks later they opposed Napoleon again and threw him over the Danube at Aspern. Since Napoleon had disdained to wage the offered annihilation battle, he could not "complete the matter in Germany within two to three days." It required a campaign of several months, a war, not limited only to the valley of the Danube, but extending over Tyrol, Italy, Poland, North Germany, and Holland, to reach an end, through the exhaustion of all forces, which could have been attained with one blow.

Napoleon several times more had the occasion to fight an annihilation battle. The attempt failed before Smolensk because of the length of his marching column, the development and deployment of which took up too much time. During the days before Dresden he gave up timidly a plan which had been elaborated with genius. Once more did the spirit of the victor of Marengo awaken before Montmirail, Napoleon gave up the turning of one flank, the cutting of the line of retreat and the combat with changed front. From that time on he went directly at his aim. This brought him to frontal attacks and attempts at piercing. Two of his battles, Borodino and Hanau, may be considered as victorious purely frontal battles. He owed it to his artillery that he was the victor in these combats. Notwithstanding the losses he suffered himself and inflicted on his opponent, only in Hanau did he reach actual success and furthering of the campaign. He succeeded here, though losing 19,000 men in saving 60,000 across the Rhine. At Borodino he pushed Kutusoff one kilometer backward. On the following day, however, the Russian general was able to continue an orderly retreat and Napoleon to continue an advance which brought him to disaster, both without molestation.

Not all Napoleon's later battles were pure frontal combats. The superior forces at the disposition of the Emperor, the consequently longer front, and the enveloping wings helped him at Wagram to surround the enemy and to achieve a success which could hardly have been obtained by attacks in masses against the Austrian front. The same thing would have happened at Gross-Gorschen if the allied armies had awaited the 3d of May, left of the Elster. Such successes, however were too small. At Wagram, the exhaustion of both sides, more than the victory, brought about the peace treaty. Striving after the best, Napoleon was forced to "assembling on the battle field the scattered detachments" a proceeding which he had scorned at Regensburg. This was nothing new. Frederick the Great had come upon this "expedient" as early as 1760.

On 2 November[12], Daun had occupied, with 52,000 Austrians and a "formidable artillery," a position north of Süptitz and west of Zinna. The ridge, only 800 meters broad, sloping gently southward to Rohr-Graben, northward to the Dommitzscher Heide and to the plain of the Elbe, was considered impregnable in front, according to previous experiences. A special corps under Lacsy was stationed southwest of Torgau to cover the line of retreat, established on the left flank. The King, whose 44,000 men were encamped at Langen Reichenbach, intended on 3 November, to have Zieten attack the hostile front with 18,000 men, while he would turn the position in three columns across the Dommitzscher Heide and deliver a rear attack. The march over the sandy heath, hampered by the artillery, was very slow. The afternoon of the short November day had already come when the advance guard debouched in the open near Neiden. It seemed too late for the columns marching on the left to continue toward Zinna over the difficult roads of the plain and to turn. The King thought to have sufficient time to go into attack with the brigades, in echelons, as they came up one after the other. The unsuccessful attacks were repulsed one after the other and severe losses sustained. The army retreated in the evening beyond the Strienbach. Zieten, uneasy about his

Map 25.

[12] See Supplement to Militär-Wochenblatt 1897, book 4. The Battle of Torgau.

right flank, wanted to throw Lascy back. However, it was impossible to reach this opponent, stationed beyond the Rohr-Graben. Zieten marched under cover of his cavalry, after a cannonade lasting one and one half hours and attacked Suptitz with one brigade, then a hill northwest of the village by another. Suptitz was occupied and the hill ascended, but after this the storming brigade was forced to retreat under case shot. All success seemed impossible. The Austrians, however, had suffered likewise and were shaken by the fact that Zieten's artillery fire hit them from the north side while that of the King struck them from the south side partly in rear. It was found advisable to draw the troops of the western flank, after dark, out of the encircling enemy towards Zinna. This movement was noticed by General Saldern and taken advantage of by him on his own responsibility for another attack. Zieten made the other troops follow. From the other front, generals and staff officers independently brought their troops against the flank and rear of the Austrians engaged in combat with Zieten. Twenty-five battalions, assembled at the last moment, pushed the enemy more and more against Zinna. The following morning, Daun retreated from Torgau to Dresden. The Austrians were not annihilated, but put aside for a long time. The other enemies of the King, the Imperial army and the Russians, disappeared in a similar way. The field was open. The most important thing, however, was that the opinion began to prevail in Vienna that it was impossible to finish with this adversary. The King owed this brilliant success to the independent zeal of his officers, which no mishap could quench, their desire to conquer, to the fighting lust of the soldiers, and most of all, to the fire against rear and front, after an attack from two sides, which even the bravest cannot withstand for long.

The Russian General Bennigsen had likewise endeavored to assemble several separate army units on one battle field. In the first days of June, 1807, Napoleon stood with the corps of Bernadotte and Soult behind the Passarge, with Davout south of Allenstein—Osterode, with the remaining army in rear of the latter up to the Vistula and beyond it, with Ney's corps as advance guard in the region Gutstadt,

Map 26.

Altkirch, Scharnick, Queetz, Knopen. The French Emperor intended to deploy his army and attack the Russo-Prussians which were with the main corps under Bennigsen at Heilsberg (advance guard Launau), with the secondary corps under L'Estocq at Heiligenbeil. Bennigsen wanted to anticipate the attack of his adversary and annihilate the isolated Ney. On 5 June were sent forward: Remboff with one division of the secondary corps against the bridgehead of Spaden to keep back Bernadotte, and Dochtorew with two divisions against the bridgehead of Lemitten against Soult. The former was repulsed, the second took the bridgehead of Lemitten; both sustained great losses, but fulfilled their order to draw off the two marshals. Since Davout was too far away to join in the combat, the annihilating attack against Ney could be undertaken. For this purpose, the advance on 5 June was to be as follows: Sacken with three divisions and strong cavalry, followed by the Guard to Wolfsdorf via Arnsdorf; Bagration with the advance guard from Launau via Gronau to Altkirch; Gortschakow with half a division to Guttstadt along the right bank of the Alle; Platow with his Cossacks and half a division to Heiligenthal via Bergfriede. When Bagration reached Altkirch, nothing was to be seen of the other columns. He decided to await them before beginning the attack. This gave Ney time to assemble his scattered detachments and, when Sacken appeared two hours later at Wolfsdorf, he had started on an orderly retreat. It would still have been possible to cut off the Marshal if Sacken had led his column, greatly superior in numbers to that of the enemy, via Warlack to Deppen or Heiligenthal. Sacken however, joined Bagration. The guard had been withdrawn some time before to Neuendorf via Petersdorf; the entire army was then assembled and the advance to Queetz begun. Platow had, in the meanwhile, broken into the retreating French trains. This, however, did not deceive Ney. He halted at Ankendorf and awaited the attack which the adversary, exhausted by long marches, had no longer the strength to deliver.

"Slowly and unbelievably cautiously" did the Russians advance toward Ankendorf on the 6th. When they threatened both flanks with their superior numbers, Ney began his

retreat. Although three bridges had been built at Deppen, the passage could be effected only with "quite considerable losses." The Passarge stopped the pursuit.

The carefully elaborated plan had miscarried because Bagration had hesitated to hold the front of the enemy by an attack and because Sacken had been afraid to advance independently against his flank or rear and had turned toward the center, thus arriving likewise before his front. The latter was considered as the most guilty, was tried by a court-martial and sentenced to dismissal, but was soon pardoned and reinstated. This measure had not much effect. Later too many generals were not afraid to commit the same mistakes as Bragration and Sacken. Even now separated army detachments have the beloved habit of pressing together before the enemy's front before starting the attack. In order to counteract this, it behooves the superior leader to see that the inevitable disparity in time between the arrival of one unit before the front and of the other in flank or rear, be as short as possible and give orders adequate to the purpose.

Even Napoleon had never solved this problem entirely. He endeavored to assemble his forces on the battle field by only threatening the enemy on his front, while a detached unit was advancing from afar for a flanking attack. This could succeed when the enemy attacked and the detached army unit arrived rapidly. It did not succeed when the enemy preferred to await the attack and the detached unit was held back by a hostile detachment. It was necessary then to overthrow without much ado the checking enemy. But if the latter did not yield to that "without much ado," much time was lost, the entire plan of junction and flanking attack speedily recognized, the decision not awaited and the retreat of the doomed enemy took place, before the noose could be drawn tight. This happened almost identically at Lowenberg(13) and Dresden(13) with the intended flank attacks of Ney and Vandamme. When, however, at Bautzen(13) Ney

(13) See "1813" in Vol. II of the "Collected Writings." The Marshal intended to include in the projected book edition of "Cannae," 1813, beginning with the armistice, as "this campaign represented a great Cannae."

reached the battle field in time, he was not sent against the flank, but against the point of the right wing and Blucher, however great his wish to hold out, was able to escape the fatal blow and was obliged to do so. Thus much has to be recognized: a frontal attack must take place simultaneously with a flank attack. The enemy must be fully occupied so as to be wholly unable to avoid the flank attack. If the attack is made by the enemy who is to be turned, like Melas at Marengo, Hohenlohe at Jena, Napoleon at Waterloo, so much the better; if not, the other side must decide to take the burden upon itself.

The manner of turning or surrounding at Bautzen, Lowenberg, and Dresden depended on the maneuvering of the enemy to the rear. If the throwing back of the enemy in the direction contrary to natural communications at Marengo, Ulm, and Jena was fatal, yea, annihilating for the vanquished, the maneuvering backward in the direction of natural communications was more injurious for the victor than for the defeated. The victories of Gross-Gorschen and Bautzen and the long drawn out retreat of the allies forced Napoleon to detach numerous units and flank guards, dissolved gradually the army of recruits and obliged him to make an armistice which was just as welcome to the allies, but who could have done without it more easily than he who endeavored to take advantage of two victorious battles by an uninterrupted pursuit.

After the end of the armistice the situation had changed completely. The problem which devolved on Napoleon in the spring, or which he had chosen himself: i.e., the assembling of separated armies on the field of battle, devolved in August on the Allies. They had surrounded Napoleon, standing between Dresden and Liegnitz, with the Northern Army in Berlin, the main army in Silesia and the Austrian army in Bohemia, although they were at a respectful distance. It would have been a simple matter for the great war lord to draw out of the threatened surrounding and then to attack one of the hostile armies with numerical superiority of forces. This is what Frederick the Great had done in 1760 in a much more dangerous situation. The King stood on 14 Au-

Map 27.

gust,(14) with 30,000 men southwest of Liegnitz with Lascy,
Map 29. Daun, and Laudon opposite him, with 100,000 men. A Russian army had also crossed the Oder and already reached Lissa. Daun intended to turn the enemy the night of the 15th, from three sides and to attack him in the morning with the main army against the right flank, Laudon against the left flank, Lascy against the rear and to hold him up in the front with the light troops of Generals Ried and Beck. In the very same night, however, the King marched off through Liegnitz and rested east of the city near Pfaffendorf and Panten in order to continue the march early in the morning. The approach of Laudon who was crossing the Katzbach in three columns in close vicinity of the Prussians, was suddenly reported during this rest. There was time, however, to occupy a hill—the Rehberg, situated opposite the hostile advance, to ward off the first impact and then to attack the Austrians while they were winding slowly through the difficult defiles of the Katzbach. Before they could deploy, they were thrown back across the river in spite of their numerical superiority (30,000 against 14,000). In the meanwhile, the main army under Daun, which was to come to the rescue, was held back at the Schwarzwasser by Zieten's small force. The force at his disposition did not suffice for the well deserved profiting by the victory. Enough was attained since the Russians recrossed the Oder and the threefold stronger Austrians forces modestly retreated permitting Frederick to march off and to join Prince Henry.

Napoleon(14) was in a much more favorable position than Frederick. The ratio of his forces to those of the enemy was not less than 1:3, but more than 4:5. It would have been easy for him to execute an operation similar to that of the battle of Liegnitz. To retreat, even for the purpose of vanquishing, seemed below his dignity. He, consequently, remained between the three adversaries. Moreover, he could do it unhesitatingly. The allies had decided, it is true, to advance from three sides against the main enemy. That army, which was to attack Napoleon himself, was to fall back while the two others were to attack so much the

(14) See "1813" of Vol. II of the "Collected Writings." See also Sup. to Militär-Wochenblatt 1906, No. 6, The Battle at Liegnitz.

more forcefully. Napoleon must ultimately fall before this plan having only one object. However good the intentions had been, two of the army commanders firmly resolved not to fulfill them. The Crown Prince of Sweden wanted to remain stationary as long as possible and retreat at the first danger threatening him. Schwarzenberg, considerably reinforced from Silesia, intended, not exactly to move against the enemy, but to turn him in a wide curve, to imitate to a certain degree the maneuvering at Marengo, Ulm, and Jena, certainly not with a determined intention to attack but with a modest one of threatening, of making a demonstration, a diversion. This would have placed the cautious general in great danger if the sun of Austerlitz were still shedding his rays. But he was already beginning to go down. Napoleon did not keep the main part of his army in one assembled mass in order to strike a decisive and annihilating blow at a favorable point, but divided his strength pretty equally among his three opponents. All the mistakes of the allies, no matter how many, could not render this fatal move harmless. Whatever opportunities might have presented themselves to renew the days of Marengo, Ulm, and Austerlitz, forces were lacking which would have inspired the courage of decision and which would have allowed the execution of the ingenious plan. All attempts to wage a battle of extermination were abandoned. The combats on the part of the French were limited to what Napoleon called formerly an "ordinary battle," to frontal attacks and attempts at breaking through the enemy. The piercing detachments, hurled against the enemy, suffered reverses. The allies advanced. Hesitatingly, timidly, it is true, but they advanced. Wherever the Emperor appeared in person, they retreated. His personality alone kept back every attack. Whenever he turned his back to attend to another side, the old state of affairs was resumed. Tired and exhausted, he returned to Dresden. He thought, in resignation, to await the coming storm. This show of weakness gave courage to the allies. Blucher crossed the Elbe to march with the Crown Prince to Leipzig for the junction with the main army. Exactly the thing which Marengo, Ulm, and Jena had prepared was

Map 27.

Map 28.

going to take place. The allies wanted to place themselves squarely across the French line of retreat and then fight the decisive battle with reversed front. The only deviation from the old program was that the advance march was to be executed from two directions and not from one alone. Napoleon could not possibly await the result of the march of concentration in Dresden. In the beginning he had the choice of deciding upon the operation which has been observed in the battle of Liegnitz or upon another proceeding. Now he was forced to follow the example given by Frederick. He ought to have rushed between the two enemies, who were desirous of turning him on the right and the left, in order to repulse the one and to annihilate the other. He surely would have the time to withdraw in a brilliant manner, from the destruction threatening him, taking into consideration the slowness and indecision of the allies. He, however, wanted to use another means. Like had to be opposed to like. Blucher and the Crown Prince wanted to cut off his line of communications to the rear. Well and good, he would do the same to them. The calculation had not entirely miscarried. The Crown Prince was immediately ready to escape the threatened surrounding by a hasty retreat. Blucher, however, stood by his decision, pulled the Crown Prince in against his will, achieved thus the junction with the main army and transformed the hostile turning movement into a blow in the air. When Napoleon realized his mistake, the mischief was done. There remained for him only to seek to break through the enemy at some point or other. A lucky chance and fluctuating resolutions of the enemy brought him to a point where a victory and with it "le monde va tourner encore une fois," could be seized with the hand, as it seemed. All that was necessary was to defeat early on 16 October, 72,000 with 138,000. This was a problem, the solution of which could surely have been entrusted to Napoleon. However, he failed, utterly. All that he achieved was the holding back of strong reserves which were used one by one where their need appared, as well as a frontal attack which was undertaken only after the enemy had been reinforced and all hope of success had thus been eliminated. Instead of placing himself again

by a brilliant action at the head of Europe, he made it possible for the allies to wage a battle of annihilation which might have been as complete as that of Cannae if pusillanimity had not opened a door to the vanquished through which he contrived to escape complete destruction. The first great catastrophe had overtaken him. The second followed in the short campaign of 1815 which shows up as none other the peculiarities of Napoleon's strategy of the later period.

The allied powers of Europe intended to penetrate into France with the right wing from the Netherlands, with the left from Basle in a concentric movement. Napoleon turned with 122,000 men and surprised the nearest and best prepared right wing of the enemy. Here stood in extensive positions the army of the Duke of Wellington with 93,000 men (36,000 Germans, 32,500 English, 24,500 Dutch) with the base in Antwerp to the right of the Scheldt up to Malines, Brussels and Binche (east of Mons), as well as the Prussian army under Blucher of 123,000 men with the corps of Zieten, Pirch, and Bulow along the Sambre and the Meuse from above Charleroi down to below Liege with the corps of Thielmann in the bend of the Meuse at Dinant, Namur, and Andenne. The French army, assembled between Philippeville and Beaumont, crossed the Sambre at Chatelet, Charleroi, and Marchienne on 15 June. The advanced Prussian detachments retired to Fleurus. An advance guard followed them as far as Lambusart, while another went to Gosselies. The former saw the Prussians immediately before it. The latter had to wait to find the English on the road from Quatrebras to Brussels. With the available strength it was out of the question to defeat the two opponents. The problem could consist only in annihilating first one adversary, or at least defeating him decisively and cutting him off from the allies entirely, while remaining on the defensive in regard to the other opponent in order to deal with him in a similar manner after extermination of the former. A doubt as to whom to attack—the Prussians or the English—could not arise considering the nearness of the former. It was plausible that they could not come up in full strength on the following day. According to Napoleon's principle of being as strong as possible in combat, it was imperative to send the

Map 30.

greatest part of the French forces against the Prussians while directing a small one against the English. A French division commander had expressed the opinion in the evening of the 16th, that one division would be sufficient against Wellington, while all the remaining forces were to be used for defeating Blucher. Napoleon did not share on the 15th the opinion of his subordinate. On the 16th, Grouchy was to throw back the Prussians with the corps of Vandamme and Gerard, the cavalry of Pajol, Excelmann, and Milhaud, 41,600 men, while Ney was to march from Gosselies to Quatrebras with the corps of Reille and Erlon, and the cavalry of Lefebvre and Kellermann, 53,000 men, in order to attack the English, should this be necessary. The Emperor wanted to follow Grouchy with the guard—16,500 men, Lobau with 10,000 being left at Charleroi until further order. He did not count on any stubborn resistance. Blucher might get together 40,000 men at the most. These he wanted to drive on the 16th, beyond Gembloux and leave them to Grouchy for complete destruction, while he would start in the night with the Guard, join Ney, and march to Brussels to which the English would flee at breakneck pace. He thought to enter the Belgian capital as early as the 17th. The proclamations to be issued there were already printed. These were beautiful thoughts, reminiscences of 1796, called forth by a vivid imagination, throwing into the background the seriousness of the moment. At closer range, however, it seemed doubtful to him that Grouchy's 41,600 men, even if 16,500 of the Guard were added to them, would suffice for a decisive combat. The impending battle against the Prussians had to be considered as such. Were there no more than 40,000, all depended upon separating them from the English, delivering them an annihilating blow and enveloping the rest of the Prussian army in this defeat. Only when Blucher had been entirely eliminated, could Napoleon turn with all his strength against the English and toward Brussels. He would surely have encountered but little further resistance.

According to this estimate, the Division Gerard of Reille's Corps—5000 men—was added to Grouchy, whose forces were thus brought to 46,000 men. Moreover, the

Corps Erlon was not to advance via Frasnes and a division was to be ready at Marbais for all eventualities. Ney, who was supposed to defeat the English with 53,000 men, found himself at the head of only 25,000. As compensation there was no lack of reserves: the Guard, Lobau, and Erlon—in all 46,000 men. The decision of two battles which were to begin in the afternoon was expected from these reserves, which were in rather extended positions.

The Prussians, left to themselves, would probably have done best to continue to retreat with their advanced troops until all their troops had been assembled on the battle field. But even a short retreat would have caused the English to take the road to Brussels and to their ships. The Prussians dared not retreat, even if Wellington had not promised his support and appearance on the hostile flank for the afternoon of the 16th, and even had the fulfillment of this promise been still more improbable. Gneisenau wanted, therefore, to halt at Fleurus. He consented, after urgent appeals, that the Corps of Zieten be taken to the hill between the villages of Lingy, St. Amand, and Brye. It was difficult to find a more unfavorable position. It is true that it allowed the use of artillery to advantage and counted in its zone four villages, large villages at that, indispensable for the battle tactics of the period. This, however, did not compensate for the disadvantage of a narrow front and a deep flank. The position was worthy of a Terentius Varro. It was bound to be surrounded, whether the adversary wanted to or not. One flank he was forced to envelop, to envelop both was an easy matter. Should the latter take place, the defense was lost. Should there also be a Hasdrubal for attacking the rear, for which no less than three cavalry corps ought to have been made available, the highest aim would have been attained. On the eve of his fall, Napoleon was given an opportunity for a battle of annihilation such as had not arisen during the 19 years of his career. Map 31.

Zieten occupied the position, Pirch was posted in the rear as a reserve. Thielmann was to secure the heights between Sombreffe and Tongrinne. He formed here a reserve echelon which seemed able to protect Zieten's left flank against

any attack. Unfortunately, this strong position was protected by a swampy creek, a front obstacle so difficult to surmount, that the defense could surely not be attacked, but, though occupied by a few troops, these could not themselves, attack; Thielmann was forced to play the role of onlooker. He was out of the battle. Ouly Pajol, Excelmans and one of Gerard's divisions were designated to cut him off. The two other divisions of this general were to attack the left flank at Ligny, while Vandamme and Gerard attacked the front at St. Amand. The Guard and Milhaud remained, as reserves, at Fleurus, and still further in rear was Lobau. For the battle itself 60,000 men were designated against an almost equal force of the enemy. The Prussians could indeed be beaten in that way, but not annihilated or separated from the English. In order to attain that, it was necessary, first of all, to attack the right flank. When Napoleon was forced to recognize this necessity, he ordered Ney to be called up. Soult was to write to the Marshal: "You are directed to envelop the enemy's right flank. That army is lost if you attack vigorously. The fate of France rests in your hands," and then: "take direction on the heights of St. Amand and Brye." Ney was already fighting the English at Quatrebras. He could not break loose from them, even had he not received the ambiguous order to attack the opposing enemy with decision, rout him, and then hasten to give a decisive blow to the Prussians. The Marshal was not in a position to rout the enemy. On the contrary, one of his divisions had been forced to retreat. He attempted to bring the combat to a standstill by a desperate cavalry charge. However, he needed the support of fresh troops to attack again the stronger enemy and defeat him. The corps of Erlon was to come up. The latter had, however, by direct order of Napoleon, been sent marching toward Brye. Ney sent him a strict order to return immediately. Erlon obeyed, let the Division Durutte continue the march toward the Emperor, and reached Ney when the latter had retreated to Frasnes at the advent of darkness. Durutte also reached the region of St. Amand when all was at an end at Ligny.

The battle had gone on there in the meanwhile. Vandamme had taken St. Amand, but could not do anything against the artillery. Gerard occupied St. Amand la Haye, but lost the village again to two Prussian brigades. Two other brigades were fighting at Ligny against Gerard's two divisions until, finally, the creek marked the frontier between friend and foe. Blucher hoped to decide the battle by an attack against the left flank of Vandamme. Two brigades of Pirch occupied Wagnelee and after a combat fluctuating back and forth, occupied Le Hameau. They could not penetrate farther, after Vandamme and Gerard had been reinforced by three brigades of the Guard. The cavalry of Jurgass and Marwitz was also checked by Domon and Subervie. When neither Ney, Erlon, nor Durutte appeared and the Prussians had sent their last reserves into battle and the evening came on, Napoleon led the rest of his Guard and Milhaud back to Ligny. The two Prussian brigades, in disorder, could not withstand the fresh forces and the superior numbers. The village, enveloped from two sides, was taken. The entire position could no longer be held. Desperate cavalry attacks could not save the day. Fortunately Brye was unoccupied. The troops could retreat through this village and past it in the direction of Tilly without much danger. The execution of the initial plan of halting here and renewing the battle of the following day, had to be abandoned on account of the condition of the troops. Zieten and Pirch continued in the night their retreat toward Wavre. They were protected against all attack by a rear guard which occupied Brye and by the Thielmann Brigade which took up position at Sombreffe in the evening. Bulow coming from Liege, reached Ardanelle with his advance guard, having left his main forces at Souveniere. Thielmann marched at 3:00 AM, on the following day to Gembloux. Both followed only the main body of the army on the next afternoon.

Map 32.

Map 30.

Ney was forced to retreat at Quatrebras before Wellington, while Napoleon had won a victory at Ligny. This was, however, what Napoleon himself deemed, only an "ordinary victory." A general, however, who desired to reconquer the lost dominion of the world, could not make anything of such

a victory. It was necessary that he completely annihilate the two Prussian army corps opposing him at Ligny. Thielmann would then have hastily retreated. Bulow alone could not have opposed the pursuing victor. Wellington wanted to return, without Prussian support, to Brussels, i.e., to Antwerp and to his ships. The campaign would have come quickly to an end at this junction. Everything centered upon a battle of annihilation at Ligny. Circumstances were as favorable as possible for it. For the purpose of being as close as possible to the promised English support, the Prussians had selected a position in which their destruction depended solely upon the judgment and pleasure of the enemy. If Napoleon could not or would not take advantage of the position in full, there remained to him the lesser, but urgent problem of separating the Prussians from the English and of attacking the former on the right flank. The Guard and Lobau would have sufficed here, had they been sent early enough in the decisive direction. Orders and counterorders did not prevent Napoleon from vanquishing at Ligny, but they did keep him from annihilating one half of the Prussian army and from entirely separating the Prussians from the English. On the contrary, he forced the two separated armies to join each other. Until then, the one had its line of communications toward Brussels and Antwerp, the other toward Liege and the Rhine. Now both marched in the same direction toward Brussels. He had had before this two weak and divided enemies. At present he had to deal with a greatly superior and almost united adversary. Such was the actual situation. Another presented itself to Napoleon's mental view. According to the picture he saw in his mind's eye, not two, but four Prussian army corps had been beaten and had retreated either to Liege and thus disappeared entirely from the battle field, or marched to Brussels, beaten and greatly shaken, not to be taken into consideration for several days. From this erroneous supposition, he drew the following extraordinary conclusion: "The enemy, who has completely disappeared or been rendered harmless, must be pursued by more than one third of my forces; the other opponent, who had just repulsed Ney's attack, must be beaten with the remaining insufficient minority." One

law prescribes: a beaten enemy must be pursued under any circumstances, while another reads: it is necessary to be as strong as possible in battle, at any rate numerically superior to the enemy. Both laws could have been fulfilled by Napoleon only by following Blucher with the greater part of his forces, beating him a second time or attempting to bring him to absolute dissolution and then by turning against Wellington who had been observed and kept busy by the lesser part of the troops. Should Napoleon have wished to go immediately against Wellington, he ought to have taken the greater number of his soldiers, detaching only a small part for the pursuit of Blucher. The former move would have brought about a battle at Wavre, the latter a different battle of Waterloo. The outlook for the former was good since half of the Prussian army had been shaken. Napoleon could have used so much the greater preponderance of troops, as Wellington employed disproportionately large bodies of troops for unjustifiable secondary aims. Here too the prospect was good. The circumstances grew worse both at Wavre and at Waterloo, when Blucher arrived at the one point and Wellington at the other for the support of the threatened comrade. Blucher showed that he was fit for the problem. It is doubtful if Wellington would have given up his line of communications and the immediate protection of Brussels and Antwerp, had these been threatened ever so little, which was doubted, at the time, by Gneisenau. A march on Wavre promised quickest success.

Napoleon had placed before himself a difficult problem when he crossed the Sambre at Charleroi on 15 June, in order to beat Blucher and Wellington. His victory at Ligny on the 16th, did not lessen his difficulties, on the contrary it increased them. By making Grouchy follow Blucher on the 17th with a good third of his fighting contingent, by leaving 5000 men aimlessly at Fleurus and seeking a decision against Wellington with less than half of his army, he jeopardized the chances of success.

Wellington had assembled in the course of the 16th, first a few, then gradually sufficient forces for the repulse of Ney's attacks and stood with the greater part of his troops at Quatrebras in the evening. Upon receiving information

of the retreat of the Prussians, he likewise started the retreat on the 17th, but halted at Mont St. Jean upon receiving the promise of at least one Prussian army corps for his support. After sending off 16,000 men to Hal and other detaching of units, he remained there in the evening with 62,000 men, thus voluntarily affording the 70,000 men of his adversary an unmerited superiority. The latter had advanced with his vanguard, while his main body was echeloned in great depth beyond Genappe.

The position south of Mont St. Jean, selected in advance, along the Braine L'Allend—Chain road, had a sufficient field
Map 33. of fire. The narrow crest of the hill afforded cover to the forces kept in rear. Several farm buildings of massive construction reinforced the front. Wellington wanted to offer here a defensive battle. Napoleon who had gained all his victories, Borodino and Hanau excepted, by the turning of a flank or by pushing his opponents away from the natural line of retreat or by both, wanted to make at this point a purely frontal attack. The enemy, standing perpendicularly to his line of retreat, was to be vanquished not through a maneuver, but through the force of the impact, the superiority of the French soldier. The obstinate will was to decide. Napoleon had but one fear—the despised enemy might not oppose any resistance. The army had to be brought, moreover, for the advance march from the deep echelon formation over the soft ground along the road. This took up the forenoon of the 18th. Only at about 11:00 AM, did Erlon's four divisions take up a position on the right and Reille's three divisions on the left of the Brussels road; in rear of these—Lobau; while the Guard and the reserve cavalry formed the reserve in position of readiness. The start was to be made by taking Hougomont. The left wing division of Jerome was designated for this operation. It could not fulfill its task even with the aid of a large part of the neighboring division of Foy. At the end of the battle a remnant of the defenders had remained in the burning farmhouse. The end of this hopeless combat could not be awaited as the advance of the Prussians against the right flank, though as yet at a great distance had already been reported. After an insuffi-

cient artillery preparation, Erlon was to attack with four divisions formed in mass, one battalion at the front, seven or eight battalions following in echelons from the left wing east of the Brussels road. The right echelon (Durutte) was stopped by Smohain, La Haye, Papelotte, half of the left (Brigade Quiot) by La Haye-Sainte. Only two and a half echelons reached the main position. Decimated by artillery fire, they were received by the English infantry with well aimed volleys. In vain was the ponderous endeavor to deploy so as to bring more rifles and more combatants to the front. They were attacked with sabre and bayonet in the flank and were forced back. An attempt was made in a deep valley offering cover to bring order into these fragments. Durutte fought on and, after a combat fluctuating back and forth, occupied Pappelotte, La Haye, and Smohain. Quiot, likewise, did not give up his fight for La Haye-Sainte. But time was pressing. The Prussians were approaching. First Domon and Subervie, with their cavalry, then Lobau with his corps were sent against the threatening flank attack. In the meanwhile the enemy at the front had to be thrown back. The cavalry was to achieve what the infantry could not do. Milhaud, Lefebvre, Guyot, Kellermann, rushed one after the other against the hostile center. Squares were dispersed, the cavalry thrown back. Yet in spite of the greatest heroism, the 9000 cavalrymen could neither throw back the entire English army nor resist it for a lengthy period. Ney came too late on the idea of letting the infantry take advantage of the first success. The only available division, Bacheln of Neille's Corps, of the seven divisions of the first line, was brought up. It succeeded in taking La Haye-Sainte in joint action with Quiot. Nothing, however, could be changed in the fate of the French cavalry. It was forced to retreat as the infantry had previously been obliged to do.

Bulow's Corps of Blucher's army had come up in the meanwhile, encountering the resistance of Lobau's Corps at Plancenoit. The fight for the village wavered back and forth. After having been lost by Lobau it was retaken by the Young Guard, again lost by the latter and retaken by three battalions of the Old Guard. This unconquerable troop seemed

to insure the lasting hold of this disputed village and Napoleon thought that he could direct his last reserves against the English. He left only three battalions behind. The rest of the Old Guard was again to be led forth by Ney. What 14,000 infantry, 9000 cavalry could not achieve, 5000 men of the Old Guard would be able to attain. Since we are acquainted with the battle of Cannae, we know that even the success of these attacks could not help Napoleon and that everything hinged on the elimination of Bulow and Blucher, or at least on repulsing them. According to some, one column was formed and to others,—two mighty, deep columns which all had joined that could be found of Erlon's and Reille's corps in the swales of the battlefield. The attack was bound to break under the case shot of the artillery and the volleys of the infantry, as all such attacks had done for the past six years. The enemy's hasty retreat and flight, however, was brought about by Zieten who had come up from Chain with at least one brigade, taken Smohain, La Haye, and Papelotte and now swept the battle field with his artillery. Even the Old Guard could not withstand this fire in their rear. The fortune of the day had been decided. The last reserves rolled back. It was not possible to pass Plancenoit in safety. The Fifth Prussian Brigade, the first of the Corps of Pirch, following Bulow had retaken the village. Bulow's batteries commanded Napoleon's line of retreat. The dissolution caused by their fire could not have been greater. Nevertheless, Wellington, who had followed the fleeing enemy, desired to give a worthy finish to the battle and demanded that the presumably strong position of Belle-Alliance be stormed, requesting that firing be ceased. Many were thus able to escape destruction, even though the Fifth Brigade further stormed from Plancenoit to Maison du Roy and Vieux Manans. After the Duke had occupied the former French position he returned to his camp and left the pursuit to Blucher.

Of the Prussian army only Bulow's Corps and one brigade each of Zieten's and Pirch's Corps had taken part in the battle. This was surely not due to lack of zeal and good will, but to inadequate marching orders. According to

Napoleon's principles, attempt was made to keep as many troops as possible on one road and when it had been decided to use several roads, the advantage of this move was frustrated by the various columns crossing each other at will. A prompt movement of great masses could not be attained in this way. The crossing of the Lasne brook necessitated a halt, the deployment caused another. No wonder then that Thielmann was still to be found in the vicinity of Wavre in the evening whence Bulow had marched early in the morning. Thielmann was on the point of marching off along the left bank of the Dyele when Grouchy appeared on the right. The French Marshal had started in the afternoon of the 17th from the battlefield of Ligny and reached Gembloux in the night. After wavering as to the direction of the hostile line of retreat, he took the road to Wavre, strengthened by the order of the Emperor. When the thundering of Waterloo's guns was heard, Gerard, one of his corps commanders, advised him to leave Blucher alone and to hasten at once to the battle field and to join the decision. Grouchy refused. What he could have done of his own free will and, maybe, at the right time, he was ordered to do most urgently by an officer who arrived too late. He was to stop Bulow and cover the main army from a flank attack. Attempting to fulfill this order as far as possible and then to cross the Dyele, he encountered the resistance of Thielmann. He succeeded, however, in crossing the river higher upstream. Night came on before he had been able to repulse the enemy on his right flank. This much had been shown by the events: the Marshal, even with the expenditure of greater energy, could never have stopped by a pursuit on the right of the Dyele, Blucher's entire army coming to the support of Wellington. He might have operated more effectively had he accompanied the French army along the Dyele and forced Blucher and Bulow on their march to Plancenoit, to face him and give up the proposed flank attack. That this was the only adequate employment of Grouchy was shown by Napoleon's order to this marshal to come up rapidly and ward off Bulow. How the battle was to be conducted later may be seen from the Emperor's admitting at St. Helena, that it had been his

intention to attack the left flank simultaneously with the front. He had sufficient cavalry and reserves to achieve this. It is true that, in order to escape being molested too early, he ought to have advanced so far on the 17th, and in the night of the 17th, that the attack might take place at the opportune moment. Then Grouchy might have been sufficient to halt that part of the Prussian army, which could have come up, long enough to allow a victory over Wellington. The attacks, following one upon the other, of two and one half infantry divisions, three cavalry corps and 5000 men of the Guard in the most unfavorable and ineffective formation against the hostile center, could not possibly be crowned with success.

It is impossible to recognize the Napoleon of 1800, 1805, and 1807, in the Napoleon of the June days of 1815. The general who wavered on the 15th and 16th, if a corps had to be sent hither or thither, right or left, was not the man with the eagle eye, who, after a long march, started in the evening in order to rush at Friedland like a tiger on his prey. The Emperor who, in the forneoon of the 18th, slowly restored the order of battle and found time to hold a review was not the man of will power and energy who called out to his marshals "activite, activite, vitesse" and in the night of 14 October, 1807, torch in hand made his artillery climb the steep Landgrafen-Hill! The master of warfare, who sent first the infantry, then the cavalry, and lastly the Guard against Wellington's front, was not the God of battles, who, at Austerlitz, swept down with his entire army against the flank of the enemy. Assuredly not. For he himself had said in 1797: "One ages rapidly on battle fields." And at the time he said it, he was in the second year of his career as a fieldmarshal. Since then, in the course of 17 years, many things had happened, bound to shake the solid structure of this colossus. A mass of indebtedness had accumulated, gnawing at the marrow of this Titan. Halting or turning back was impossible. He was driven forward, ever forward, against ever increasing forces. And to oppose them he lacked the strength. His fall was imminent, if not on 18 June, then later. It was inevitable. His mother had

foreseen this when she said to her son in bidding him good-bye on the Isle of Elba: "Heaven will not permit that thou shouldst die by poison(15) or in unworthy degree, but with the sword in thy hand." To find such an end ought to have been the aim of the battle of Waterloo.

(15) He had made an attempt at Elba to poison himself.

CHAPTER III

The Campaign of 1866

Napoleon had gradually turned from the battle of annihilation, had left the road which brought him to his great victories. His opponents took hold of the abandoned weapon hesitatingly and cautiously. The roles were changed. The Katzbach, Dennewitz, and Kulm do not reach the scope of extermination battles. The advance in the rear of the enemy, his surrounding on all sides would have made a complete Cannae from Leipzig, had not the terror inspired by the formidable man counselled them to leave a loophole open. With Waterloo we returned again to Marengo after the lapse of 15 years. Doubtful, yes, more than doubtful, was the combat at the front. Then came the deadly blow against the flank. A part of Cannae, not a full Cannae, but still a very successful part. One battlefield served as "the anteroom through which Ceasar entered the coronation hall." The other led to St. Helena. The assembling of the separated armies on the field of battle was the problem, often vainly striven after, fortunately solved in both battles. What had been forgotten was taken up again half a century later. The thread spun in Blucher's headquarters was again picked up.

THE PRUSSIAN AND AUSTRIAN CONCENTRATION

From the very first months of 1866, Prussia saw herself facing a war with Austria alone for the present. It was still doubtful whether the German Central States would take sides with the one or the other or whether they would remain entirely out of the struggle. The frontier line: Gorlitz—Oderberg, formed by a mountain ridge, separated the two opponents which were preparing for war. The two armies had to advance toward this line from the north and south.

Strategic authorities insisted upon the assembling of the Prussian army in Upper Silesia. From this point only

a short blow was necessary to strike at the heart of the dual monarchy, thus putting with one stroke an end to the war. The road from the Prussian realm to Vienna was, in truth, shortest through Silesia. Yet in order to reach this extreme point of the country, to make it the point of issue whence the short blow would be struck, it was necessary for the assembling armies to take the longest possible roads. No Prussian advance demanded a longer time than the one through Silesia and none required so short a time as the advance march of the Austrians through Moravia. The enemy, at all events, had the chance to bar the way and parry the blow against his heart. The attacking army would have come upon the entire hostile force latest at Olmutz. Mass would then oppose mass. Should the Prussians be defeated, they would be in danger of being "thrown back on Poland." Should they win the battle, the Austrians would, probably be free to retreat on Vienna and beyond the Danube, assemble reinforcements and even up the losses suffered. The victors could hope for a Wagram, but should be prepared for an Aspern. The campaign was apparently leading that way, affording the powers, which had remained outside the conflict, the opportunity and time to enter it and rob the victor of the fruit of his success. The problem was, evidently, not a short blow against Vienna, but the throwing back of the hostile army on Vienna and beyond the Danube. Such calculations and views proved objectless. The foundation of the entire plan was faulty, an advance into Upper Silesia was not only tedious, but hardly possible. The VI and part of the V Army Corps might reach by marching the region of the Upper Oder. The remaining seven or eight corps, which had to be transported by rail, would have been limited, in the end, to one line: Breslau—Ratiber, were they coming from Konigsberg or Wesel or Trier. The single track branch line, Liegnitz—Frankenstein, would not have materially aided the overburdened main line. The enemy would scarcely have awaited the concentration necessitating more than two months, but would have scattered the half-completed concentration. Moltke wished the advance to be made into Upper Silesia only in case Prussia could get there more quickly and stronger than the enemy. However, no one could prom-

ise him the fulfillment of this condition. Concentration of combined railway transportation and marching in Silesia, could at best take place at Breslau. Thence the road through Upper Silesia to Vienna is the shortest. Even Napoleon had not always chosen the shortest way to get at his enemy, but made considerable detours. These, however, led him to the flank or rear of the enemy. This could have happened there only if the Austrians had done the improbable, the impossible, i.e., directed their march to Bohemia. Should they remain in Moravia, the turning movement through Silesia would have been brought up exactly against their front.

Another route of advance had to be chosen. Since the Prussians wanted to ascribe the "burden of the aggression" to the enemy, it was necessary to prepare for the defensive. It was easiest to oppose from the Lausitz the attack of the Austrians, should they advance against Berlin through Bohemia or through Silesia. Should, however, favorable circumstances give the initiative into the hands of the cautious and reserved policy, it would be easiest to penetrate to Vienna by Gorlitz with the view of cutting off the enemy, marching from Bohemia or Moravia, from the capital, and the Danube. All the advantages, however, were unavailable. An advance in the Lausitz was connected with no less difficulties than that in Upper Silesia. To carry nine army corps over one railway line to the region of Gorlitz, would take a longer time than the enemy would concede. It would have been impossible to feed the assembled masses, about 250,000 men, in the sterile heathland, and the forcing of these numbers through the narrow passage via Gorlitz, Seidenberg, Friedland, and Reichenbach, into Bohemia, would be impossible.

It was clear that the entire army could not be assembled in a mass and by means of one railway line, also that the mountain ridge could not be crossed on one road. All available railway lines were to be used for the transportation of the troops. Of these there were only two: Kreuz—Posen—Lissa—Breslau and Frankfurt—Kohlfurt—Gorlitz with branch lines from the rear and to the front. Having a mass of troops in the Lausitz, another in Silesia, with the mountain ridge in front, not much had been gained. An improvement in the situation took place when it was found out that

Saxony would join with Austria. The following new lines opened against these allies: Berlin—Juterbog—Herzberg, Magdeburg — Halle, and Eisenach — Weissenfels — Zeitz. Since the corps located nearest to the frontier could reach their goal at least partly on foot, there were about five corps to transport by each of the five available lines, and the advance could take place proportionately quickly until 5 June. The army stood now in a long line from Zeitz to Wakenburg—Schweidnitz. The attack could not be awaited in this cordon formation. It was, consequently, Moltke's intention to cross the frontier immediately after the arrival of the last transport train, and to seek junction in Bohemia, not at one point, but in such manner that the corps could, upon encountering the enemy, give mutual support to each other. It was, first of all, necessary to penetrate into Saxony, win the passes of the Lausitz and Erzgebirge with the right army wing and to advance into Bohemia from two directions—from Saxony and Silesia, thus effecting their junction. The concentration was thus to be made in Bohemia. The road to Vienna thence was not farther than from Upper Silesia. Berlin was in the rear and it was not possible for the Prussians to be pushed toward Poland. At the same time, there was the possibility of cutting off the enemy, who had selected his central point at Olmutz, from Vienna and the Danube. This march could have been effected easily at the time. Scarcely an appreciable obstacle was to be expected. The army could have effected a junction before coming to battle or even to appreciable encounters. Political reasons forbade the crossing of the frontier and forced a situation which was thought to be an easily surmountable transition. In order to shorten somewhat the long line, the corps detraining at Zeitz and Halle (half of the VII and VIII), were sent to Torgau, those between the Elbe and the Lausitz Neisse, assembled by rail or by marching (II, III, and IV Corps) to Hoyer-swerda, Spreeberg, Muskau; the Guard Corps, in rear of these, to Kottbus; the I Corps from Gorlitz to Hirschberg, and the V and VI Corps to Landeshut. They could advance into Bohemia from these positions as follows: the right wing (Army of the Elbe) along the left bank of the Elbe; the center

(First Army) via Bautzen and Gorlitz; the I Corps, via Warmbrunn and Schreiberhau, the V and VI (Second Army) from Landeshut. Without appreciably prejudicing the offensive, limiting too much the number of march routes and losing the direction of the right wing toward Vienna, the army could not be more closely concentrated. Pressing upon the Saxon army from the south was already essentially jeopardized by giving up Zeitz.

In a similar way, as the experts on the subject advised the Prussians to assemble in Upper Silesia, they demanded that the Austrians advance through Bohemia. Here too the advantages of a short blow on Berlin could be reached by being quicker and stronger than the enemy. This condition was as impossible to fulfill for the Austrians in Bohemia as for the Prussians in Upper Silesia. For the latter because seven to eight corps could not be transported by one railway line, Breslau—Ratiber, for the former because six army corps were too much for the single-track railway defile, Bohmisch—Trubau—Pardubitz. It would have been possible to reinforce the troops, stationed in Bohemia during peace time, and the expected Saxon corps from the rear. The region for the massing of troops, however, was determined by the railway lines running from the south via Vienna, Ganserdorf, Lundenburg, Brunn, from Hungary likewise, but over separate tracks, via Ganserdorf and Lundenburg and further via Olmutz to Bohmisch—Trubau, from Galicia the line joining at Prerau.

Moltke designated in 1870, exactly where the French army would concentrate. In order to do this, he had not paid numerous spies nor bribed high officials. In order to fathom the state secret he limited himself to the cost of a passable railway map. In the age of railways, the advance of each army is dependent on and determined by the railway lines. It may be laid a little forward or a little backward. But in the main it is immutable. Even today this is so wherever a thick network of railway lines covers the country and it was all the more the case in 1866, when but a few lines led to the frontier. Criticism, hence, of the Prussian and Austrian advance was unduly excited, ranting against the scattering of the one and the holding back of the other. Both

were virtually determined. The concentration, forced upon the Prussians, was favorable to them, in spite of some inevitable obstacles. The concentration in Moravia with one or two advance corps in Bohemia corresponded to the idea which the Austrians had of their problem. They were sure that "the Prussian army, considering its rapid mobilization, could be at the frontier prepared for combat before the home army would have finished its concentration, possibly even before the war formations had been completed." If they did not wish to be hindered and surprised, they had to lay their concentration toward the rear, as was done by the Germans four years later in directing their advance beyond the Rhine. Should the hesitancy and irresolution of the enemy place the initiative in their hands, in an unforeseen way, an offensive movement on their part would be more successful in Moravia than in Bohemia. In the latter place, they were threatened from the beginning with being surrounded and forced to go through separate mountain roads in the face of the enemy, while in Moravia they could make an attack against the left flank of the long drawn out Prussian deployment. The Austrians were far from taking advantage of the favorable situation. In the knowledge of being the weaker in numbers and organization, they deemed themselves obliged to adhere to the defensive which they accepted as "a regretable, but settled fact." They preferred to await the enemy, should he come up from Upper Silesia, in a position at Olmutz—Mahrisch—Trubau. Should no enemy appear there, they would march to Bohemia and occupy a position at Josefstadt—Koniginhof—Miletin.

The intentions of the Austrians were understood differently by the inhabitants of the neighboring Prussian province of Silesia. The advance posts placed in the vicinity of the frontier of Upper Silesia and the County of Glatz, left no doubt in their minds that the invasion of the province and the burning of Breslau were imminent. The commander-in-chief of the Second Army thought these apprehensions, confirmed by numerous reports, had to be taken into consideration and decided, for the salvation of the threatened country, to advance to a position in rear of the Neisse between Patschkau and Grottkau, which had

been reconnoitered in advance. Since two army corps did not suffice for such a long front, the support of the I Corps and of one other was requested. The request was approved by the King. The I, V, and VI Corps were started toward the Neisse and the Guard Corps, standing in reserve in rear of the First Army, was transported by rail to Brieg. The rest of the army advanced as follows: the III Corps to Lowenberg, Friedeberg, and Wiegandsthal; the IV to Laubau and Greiggenberg; the II to Niesky, Reichenbach, Gorlitz, and Seidenberg; the Cavalry Corps to the region of Lowenberg. If anything could threaten Silesia, these were thus the measures taken for her safety. The Austrians were firmly decided to remain on the defensive, but such a separation of the enemy—one half between Torgau and Gorlitz, the other more than 120 km. from that point on the Neisse—was sure to shake the firmest resolution. If the Austrians did not think themselves strong enough to deal with the entire Prussian army, they were surely capable of encountering the smaller half. The attack of the isolated Second Army, however, would not have been so easy and simple as it looked at first. The chosen position was pretty strong, the numerical superiority of the attack not overpowering, a turning movement rendered difficult through the mountains and by the fortress of Glatz. Should the position prove untenable, it was proposed to draw back the Second Army without serious damage so far that it could be received by the First. The danger, to which the Second Army had exposed itself by advancing to the Neisse, was not to be considered too great. It was far worse that the general offensive, so well planned, had become doubtful. The execution of the plan: advance of the right wing through Saxony up to the Austrian frontier, penetration into Bohemia from there and from Silesia, seeking the enemy with a united army of nine army corps with the intention of cutting him off from Vienna, would have protected Silesia and Breslau better than any position and would have given the possibility of a battle of annihilation. At present not fully five corps were available for the advance into Bohemia. The possibility and the manner of a joint operation of the two halves of the army depended upon the measures which the easily as-

sembled Austrians would take against the seemingly irretrievably divided Prussians. The unfavorable situation could not be averted by Moltke. The safeguarding of Silesia was represented to the King as a duty devolving upon the father of his country. The proving by Moltke that this duty could be fulfilled very well by an offensive in Bohemia and very badly by a defensive in Silesia, was not convincing. The authority of the Chief of the General Staff was still small at the time and personal influence as well as political considerations were so much the more effective. More than once, in this war, a carefully elaborated plan by Moltke was spoiled in preparation, mobilization, and concentration. It was left to him to assemble the fragments and construct something new. In spite of all difficulties placed in his way, he adhered to the offensive. He was decided to enter Bohemia with the First Army and the Army of the Elbe. As soon as this had taken place, the Austrians would, notwithstanding any plans they might have made, turn to that point, at least with their main forces, sending a smaller part against the Second Army. A victory over this weaker enemy would be rendered easy to the Second Army and a possibility given for the joint action of the two units. The Prussians hesitated and waited so long to do this that the Austrians prevented this movement by an offensive in Silesia. The resolution of the Austrian Commander-in-Chief, Benedek, could be counted upon not to allow himself to be enticed back by a later counteroffensive into Bohemia. All that would then be left to do would be to go with the First Army to the assistance of the Second or to receive it and advance in the direction of the Neisse. The hope, not of victory, but of an annihilating victory, would have to be given up. The defeated Austrians might, without considerable molestation, retreat to Vienna —Olmutz, behind the Danube.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1866 IN GERMANY

It was lucky that Austria made a break earlier, before the circumstances in Silesia had been elucidated and the advantages of an offensive movement there had become known. As she knew herself to be inferior to the enemy, Map 34.

she desired to assure herself of the support of the German Central States. At the voting of the Federal Diet on 14 June, the majority of the States declared against Prussia. To have the declaration followed by action, neither Austria nor the Central States were sufficiently prepared; both had hoped either to intimidate by the number of her enemies, thus determining her to desist from her demands, or to obtain, through negotiations, the necessary time for mobilization and completion of the equipment of their armies. This, however, proved to be an illusion. Prussia saw that it was the highest time to leave the cautious reserve behind. An ultimatum was sent as early as 15 June, to Saxony, Hanover, and The Hesse Electorate, followed on the same day, upon its rejection, by a declaration of war and on the next day by the beginning of hostilities against the three powers. This forced Austria's decision. In the Federal Diet on the 16th, the Vienna cabinet declared that "on account of Prussia's advance against Saxony, Hanover, and the Hesse Electorate, His Majesty the Emperor would assist those powers with all his strength and, accordingly immediately begin operations with all his military forces." This immediate action could not consist in a stay in Moravia or a penetration into Silesia, but only in an advance into Bohemia, if troth should be kept with the trustiest of the allies—Saxony, and assurance of the support of the next powerful ally—Bavaria, maybe also Wurttemberg and Hesse obtained. Only with the 40,000, or 50,000, Bavarians could Austria hope for superiority over Prussia. This advantage weighed enough in the balance to allow overlooking the disadvantage of a continuous threatening of the right flank in the march of the army from Moravia to Bohemia. It was not known how great was the number of the hostile troops in Silesia. The Austrians were informed for quite a long time in regard to the positions and movements of the enemy. They could not, however, be cognizant on the 16th, of the marches and transportation of troops taking place in Silesia up to the 18th. Vienna knew of the two corps which were to be in the vicinity of the Neisse and Glatz. But it was known surely that the Prussian main army was still between Torgau and Landeshut. They could not allow themselves to

be misled by the "demonstrations" of these two corps. The order for the advance into Bohemia was issued on the 16th.

It was imperative for Prussia to move first against Hanover and Hesse Electorate. These two powers, whose territory was situated between the eastern and western halves of the monarchy, could not be left in rear in going to war against Austria and the South Germans. A sudden attack against the rear might be expected, once engaged in combat against the Austrians. The Hanoverian and Hessian contingents must likewise not be allowed to march to the south and increase the already superior forces of the enemy. It was necessary that they should, while still within the Prussian zone of power, "be placed out of activity by disarmament or attack." A further problem of Prussia consisted in drawing the fighting strength of the South German powers, especially of Bavaria, from Bohemia. Austria desired to fight at the head of all the German Central States against an isolated Prussia. Prussia wished to isolate Austria at the price of three divisions. In order to solve these two problems the following troops were available: Beyer's Division (18 battalions, 5 squadrons, 18 guns)(16) at Wetzlar, the 13th Division under Goeben (12 battalions, 9 squadrons, 41 guns) at Minden, Manteuffel's Division (12 battalions, 8 squadrons, 24 guns) (16) at Altona, the two last named ones under command of General von Falckenstein. These three divisions crossed on 16 June, the hostile frontiers in the direction of Kassel and Hanover and already on the following day this city was occupied by the 13th Division. The Hanoverians as well as the Hessians had withdrawn before the sudden attack. The former were transported by rail to Gottingen, the latter to Hersfeld. From this terminal, the Hessians, some 4000 men strong, continued their retreat to Frankfort and escaped.

The Hanoverians remained first at Gottingen in order to somewhat prepare for combat after a hurried retreat. As Goeben's Division followed on the 19th, there was little time to retrieve what had been lost. Though reservists

(16) Formed by detaching the ninth regiments of eight Army Corps and two more regiments from the IV and V Corps.

streamed from all sides and trains with war materiel followed during the 17th from Hanover, the condition of the troops remained completely "unprepared." The ammunition on hand might last, perhaps, for two fighting days in all. Should the Hanoverians, while left to themselves, start on a campaign in North Germany, they might have won a single success against the yet widely scattered enemy, but would have gone under in the end through lack of ammunition and the numerical superiority of the enemy. Views wavered at the headquarters between "a battle at Gottingen," "opening of negotiations" and the possibilities lying between the two. The difficulties of a campaign without hope of success, reserves, or reinforcements pressed. The necessity of seeking reserves, paid for by the loss of the capital and the greater part of the country, led them to the resolution of "an immediate departure toward the Bavarians and to an avoidance of serious encounters." The danger of being attacked by Goeben in the front and Beyer in the rear hastened the execution of the plan. The road via Kassel was already occupied, that via Eschwege threatened.

It was decided to take a third route via Heiligenstadt, Wanfried, and Treffurt to Eisenach. With 20 battalions, 24 squadrons, 42 guns, about 17,000 armed and 3000 unarmed men, the march was begun on the 21st. This retreat was too well founded on the existing circumstances not to have been foreseen in Berlin. The pursuit had to be started. According to Napoleonic principles, part of the troops had to follow the enemy "l'epee dans les reins," another head them off on the shortest line. Goeben had reached on the 20th, Alfeld—Bodenburg. Manteuffel stood with a brigade near Hanover, with another at Celle, Beyer had entered Kassel with the main forces and thence had taken a short road to Eisenach when the enemy left Gottingen. Another still shorter road was by rail via Braunschweig, Magdeburg, and Halle.

Moltke's simple plan was as follows: Beyer to march via Otmannshausen to Eisenach; Manteuffel's Division to
Map 35. be transported to the same point by rail, both to march against the enemy wherever he might be. Goeben would follow as before and attack him in the rear. The plan,

however, was executed only in so far that Beyer, after garrisoning Kassel and occupying Munden, went on the 20th in the direction of Otmannshausen toward Waldkappel and Goeben continued the march to Gottingen. Falkenstein rejected the transportation of Manteuffel's Division to Magdeburg. He wanted "to avoid a division of his fighting strength, which seemed inexpedient to him, and not to let part of it get entirely out of his hands."

It was, however, impossible to avoid a division of forces. For it existed already in the highest degree: Beyer's last battalion was on the 20th still at Fritzlar, Manteuffel at Luneburg. The Prussian troops, separated by the Hanoverians, lay in a long line between these two points. The problem was not to avoid such a division, but to remedy it. This could not be effected in a quicker or simpler way than by Moltke's plan. The surrounding of the Hanoverians and the junction of the three divisions would have taken place at one stroke. Before the 24th, one campaign might have been ended and the army assembled to begin another. Since, however, Falkenstein ordered that Manteuffel's Division should not go from Hanover and Celle via Magdeburg to oppose the enemy, but via Braunschweig and Seesen, should follow the 13th Division, battalion by battalion, the scattering of forces remained, Manteuffel's Division removed from the scope of activity for a time and the surrounding of the Hanoverians was rendered doubtful.

Moltke had taken pains to replace the falling out of one division. The Coburg-Gotha regiment, three battalions, some cavalry, two sortie guns from Erfurt, were placed under the command of Colonel von Fabeck and transported to Eisenach. If Beyer continued his march from Waldkappel to that point and Goeben followed the Hanoverians, it would be possible to do without Manteuffel.

All began well on the 21st. Fabeck had reached Eisenach, Beyer, subordinate to Falkenstein, held Kassel, sent out detachments to Munden and Allendorf, and reached Reichensachsen and Lichtenau with his main body, Goeben reached Einbeck—Oppershausen and two Landwehr battalions from Magdeburg under General von Seckendorff reached Bleicherode. Within this wide circle, the Han-

overian marching column pushed into the space between
Map 36. Dingelstadt and Siemrode. All would have taken place as per orders, if Falkenstein had not assumed against all contrary reports and information, that the Hanoverians would oppose resistance in a good position on the road halfway between Norten and Gottingen, and had he not decided to attack them at that point on the 23d. That Goeben received an order to turn toward the front for the impending battle did not bring about any disadvantage; it rather spurred on the 13th Division to greater rapidity of march
Map 37. toward Gottingen. More doubtful was the order sent to Beyer to cut off the retreat of the enemy.

After all kinds of reports and information, this general had to assume that the departure of the Hanoverians from Gottingen was, at least, highly probable and he could therefore fulfill his task in the simplest way by continuing his march to Eisenach. The wording of the order, however, seemed to indicate clearly an attack against the rear of the "Hanoverians, standing between Gottingen and Norten." Beyer, consequently, held Kassel and Allendorf and sent the advance guard from Munden to Dransfeld, the main body from Reichensachsen and Lichtenau to Witzenhausen, the reserve to Kaufungen. A march direction contrary to the preceding was assumed. The enemy, freed from all threatening flank attack, seemed to be able to continue unmolested his march to the South of Germany.

The appearance of Beyer's troops on the 21st, at Allendorf, of patrols on the right of the Werra, the possibility of the Prussians occupying the crossing over the Hainich east of Wanfried, Treffurt, and Miehla on the 22d, decided the Hanoverian General von Arentschildt to desist from the march from Heiligenstadt to Wanfried, then from the one from Muhlhausen via Langula to Eisenach and to march via Langensalza. With this detour Eisenach would be reached by the Hanoverians, who stood on the evening of the 22d between Dingelstadt and south of Muhlhausen, not much earlier than by Goeben, who stood at the time in Gottingen, and by Beyer, standing with the main body and reserve at Allendorf, Witzenhausen, and Kaufungen. Should some resistance be shown in the defiles of Eisenach, Beyer might come up in time via Otmannshausen and

Goeben via Eschwege to render an escape impossible. But should Goeben follow the enemy via Muhlhausen, the start won by him would not be great. At the hour when Goeben entered Gottingen on the 22d, the Hanoverian rear guard left Heiligenstadt in order to halt at Dingelstadt. If the enemy should remain there for one day, the pursuit would be able to reach him. Moltke's zealous endeavor lay in procuring that one day.

Since by the Hanoverians' march to Muhlhausen, Gotha was likewise threatened, the five battalions, thus far disposable at Eisenach, could not suffice. More troops had to be called. Seckendorf was ordered with his two Landwehr battalions from Bleicherode to Gotha, by immediate Royal command two battalions of the 4th Regiment of the Guard were placed in a train, two batteries from Dresden, two to three reserve and Landwehr battalions were ordered from Dresden, and Fabeck with his five battalions was sent to Gotha. On the 23d, when the Hanoverians reached Behringen with Bulow's Brigade, Reichenbach with the reserve cavalry; with the terrain north and south of Langensalza, Knesebeck's and de Vaux's Brigades, Bothmer's Brigade—Gross-Gottern, the rear guard—Muhlhausen, they found Fabeck in front of them near Gotha, Seckendorf on their left flank near Urleben, and had to consider Eisenach occupied, according to all information received. They could not go on without a combat, although against inconsiderable forces. They seemed also decided to give battle. Early on the 24th, the troops were prepared for attack against Gotha. Fabeck was lost. Map 38.

The attack was not executed, however. Moltke had contrived to have a parliamentary sent with the categorical request that the entirely surrounded enemy lay down arms. The Hanoverians were surrounded, it is true, but by weak detachments at long distances. They were also cognizant of the condition of affairs, knowing the small numbers of Fabeck's troops. But the demand, made with such firmness and calm assurance, did not fail to produce its effect. The Hanoverians entered upon negotiations in the hope of obtaining free departure in exchange for a promise not to take part in the war for a certain length of time. The coming and going of the parliamentaries, de-

mands in Berlin, answers thence taking up a long time, the troops were allowed to disband and go to their quarters. Scarce had they reached these, when a resolute aide-de-camp decided the King to order the occupation of Eisenach now free of troops. Bulow's Brigade was to make a reconnaissance, occupy the city if it were free of the enemy and thus assist in breaking through the entire army. In the meanwhile, Colonel von der Osten-Sacken(17) had arrived with five companies of the 4th Regiment of the Guard at the threatened point and left no doubt to the parliamentary sent to him, that he would defend to the utmost with his small unit, the post entrusted to him. The uncertainty of success against an infantry armed with needleguns, though scarcely one third their own strength, the fear of firing against a peaceful, wholly unconcerned city, the knowledge of being left to themselves alone, lastly the uncalled for mixing in of a Hanoverian parliamentary, who did not wish to have his negotiations disturbed, persuaded the council of war and the brigade commander to desist from an attack and to conclude an armistice until the next morning. This rendered all attempt at breaking through impossible, and more than one day had been won. The pursuit ought to be quite close. The disarmament could be started on the following day.

The pursuit, which, according to Napoleon ought to have been executed toward Gneisenau "l'epee dans les reins" and "until the last gasp of man and horse," was interrupted by Goeben after four days of march on the 23d, by one day's rest. Only a weak advance guard under Wrangel was sent to Siemerode and brought the not surprising report that the enemy had continued the retreat. Beyer had, it is true, received orders to march to Otmannshausen. But he alone reached it with a weak reserve. The main army and the advance guard, left without sufficient orders and elucidation of the situation, wanted to give a decisive blow in the "battle of Gottingen," marched to Friedland and arrived in the evening, after elimination of all misunderstandings, in Hohengandern, Witzenhausen, and Allendorf.

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(17) Three companies had occupied the crossing at Mechterstadt.

Since the Hanoverians did not give battle where he wanted it and did not allow themselves to be overtaken, Falkenstein decided to leave them to their fate, march off to Frankfort, scatter the VIII Federal Corps and cover the threatened Province of the Rhine. On the 24th, Goeben was to reach Munden, Manteuffel, Gortingen, and Beyer assemble at Otmannshausen. Falkenstein left thus the Hanoverians unmolested in his rear, gave free hand to the Bavarians to take part in the impending decisive action in Bohemia, and turned against an enemy who was far from being prepared for war and who could have been left unnoticed. As Silesia could have been best protected by an invasion of Bohemia, thus could the Rhine Province best be guarded by the disarmament of the Hanoverians. After such a success no South German would have dared to cross the Nahe. The Hessians and Nassauers would have known that they could not then invade the countries of others, but would have to protect their own skins. The march to Frankfort could not be permitted. If it were desired not to give up everything, or to open the war with a fatal disaster, it was necessary that the King take the matter personally in hand. His first order to transport as many troops as possible via Kassel to Kosenach was answered by a curt "Impracticable." The railway track at Munden was destroyed. A second order received early on the 24th, to bring one of Manteuffel's brigades, via Seesen and Magdeburg, to Gotha, showed the seriousness of the King's will. The impossible became possible.

Goeben made a forced march to Kassel and entrained there six battalions with corresponding cavalry and artillery. Beyer received orders to march to this point. One Map 39.
of Manteuffel's brigades went under General Fliess by rail, via Magdeburg to Gotha. Part of the troops reached their goal as early as the night of the 25th. The rest were expected in the course of the day at Eisenach and Gotha. In spite of the loss of two days, Moltke's original plan was still to be put into execution to a certain extent. In addition to Fabeck's and Sacken's troops, two mixed divisions were ready to oppose the enemy at Eisenach—Gotha. The 3d Division, which was to follow via Gottingen, was lacking. Of the brigades, which might have formed it, one

(Goeben's) was in Kassel, the other (Manteuffel's) was echeloned between Munden and Gottingen. It was clear that it was impossible to effect the concentration of all fighting forces against the Hanoverians. One third had to be kept in readiness for the hoped for campaign against the VIII Federal Corps. Goeben, to whom the command over the troops assembled at Eisenach and Gotha had been entrusted, was not ready for attack on the 25th. Only part of the battalions were on hand. Many of Beyer's division were still at a distance on the march. The last of Fliess' unit were to be expected early on the 26th, and those that had arrived were exhausted by the long march. An armistice of 24 hours, which Adjutant General von Alvensleben, sent to the Hanoverian headquarters, had concluded, was most welcome. It was of still greater advantage to the Hanoverians. After the latter had desisted from breaking through the enemy and the hope of marching off in peace had dwindled, their principal faith lay in their liberation through the Bavarians. In order to secure it, they had to win time. It happened that the beginning and end of the armistice had not been fixed and that the time of making known the latter had not been settled. Only with much trouble had it been possible to settle the state of affairs, make known the armistice, and set the Prussian attack for 10:00 AM on the 26th. The Hanoverians still occupied on the 25th, the quarters taken up two days earlier along the road: Gross-Lupnitz — Behringen — Langensalza —Gross-Gottern—Muhlhausen. Since the localities occupied could not offer much after two days, it was hoped to have the possibility of extending the occupied locality beyond Muhlhausen, trusting to the concluded armistice. This brought about movements of troops which would have been impossible had Mantueffel, instead of remaining in Kassel and Gottingen, advanced on the 24th and 25th via Heiligenstadt to Muhlhausen. These movements were interpreted by the population: "Hanoverian troops are marching against Muhlhausen,"—followed by "The Hanoverian army is marching through Muhlhausen," arriving in Berlin as "The Hanoverian army has marched through Muhlhausen."

At the opposite end of the long Hanoverian deployment, Goeben saw troops at Gross-Lupnitz and Stockhausen, a detachment at Mechterstadt and heard about stronger troops at Behringen where he supposed that the entire Hanoverian army had assembled. He thought of attacking it on the following day. He did not wish to advance against the enemy like Hannibal, keep him occupied on the front and then turn against his flanks with echelons that had been kept back for this purpose. He did not intend like Frederick or Napoleon to turn a hostile flank with his entire army. He placed in the evening of the 25th, the brigade of the 13th Division under Kummer at Waltershausen, Langenhain, and Sondra ready for a flanking attack, while Beyer was to advance for a frontal attack from Hotzelroda. It is easily understood that the enemy did not await for the artfully laid noose to be drawn tight. Bulow took his advance troops from Gross-Lupnitz and Mechterstadt before midnight and prepared to retreat further before the advance of the enemy. The report of the retreat of the Hanoverian advance troops arrived in the night of the 26th simultaneously with a message from Berlin in which Councilor of the State Wintzigerode announced the passage of the Hanoverian army through Muhlhausen. The disparity of these reports was apparent. Nevertheless none doubted them. None deemed it necessary to ascertain their correctness by the sending out of a patrol.

Moltke might have believed or not. At any rate he saw a liberation from the binding agreement of the armistice. It was possible now to attack immediately and to pursue. He telegraphed, consequently, to Falkenstein who had arrived, in the meanwhile, at Eisenach: "follow immediately and instruct Manteuffel in Gottingen to start at the same time. Part of the troops in Gotha may, perhaps, be transported by rail to Nordhausen. General Fliess shall receive a copy of this telegram. It would be advisable, considering your superiority, to leave the necessary troops for the observation of Bavaria, etc., and in consideration of operations to come." The last sentence was not understood as it was meant. Moltke wanted to leave only a small detachment in Eisenach. Falkenstein, having heard the rumor that the Bavarians had already reached Vacha,

Map 40.

considered that half of his forces would be sufficient against the Hanoverians, using the other against the Bavarians. Beyer with his reserve was sent to Berka—Gerstungen, Glummer to Sallmanshausen—Horschel, Kummer to Eisenach. Schachtmeyer was to stay in Eschwege and occupy Allendorf. The attack of the Bavarians was awaited in an extended position: Berka—Eisenach. Only on the 26th would twelve battalions be assembled for Manteuffel. Fliess alone received orders for "immediate pursuit." Moltke had intended the joint action of all forces at one point. Falkenstein held fast to the division into three parts. Thus measures were adopted to attain no success at any point and perhaps defeats at many. The movements ordered were in full swing when the following information arrived in the afternoon: from Berlin—the Hanoverians were still at Langensalza: from Vacha—nothing was to be seen of the Bavarians. The movements ordered proved aimless. But nothing could be changed on the 26th. Manteuffel alone had, acting independently, sent the north detachment from Gottingen to Duderstadt and the troops arriving gradually by rail from Munden, Kassel, and Eisenach(18) to Beienrode and Siemerode.

The Hanoverians, as a matter of course, were far from making a retreat via Muhlhausen to "the Kingdom." At the conclusion of the armistice, an attack from Gotha, Waltershausen, and Eisenach seemed impending. They did not wish to await it at Langensalza in a position exposed to a turning movement. The commanding general von Arentschildt ordered consequently: "The Prussian troops are advancing. Resistance will be offered them. Each brigade shall retreat fighting in the direction of Sondershausen." There should concentrate for this purpose: the Brigades of Bothmer at Grafentonna; that of de Vaux south of Langensalza; that of Bulow at Schonstadt; Knesbeck and the reserve cavalry between Sundshausen and Thamsbruck. The movements of these two latter units from Langensalza to the heights on the left bank of the Unstrut were observed by one of the many Prussian parliamentaries, going to and fro between Gotha and Langensalza, and interpreted

(18) 2 battalions of the 4th Regiment, of the Guard.

as a retreat to Kirchheiligen. The "retreat to Kirchheiligen" reached Falkenstein as a "retreat to Sondershausen" and was accepted by him as such until a report from the President of the Regency in Erfurt: "retreat over Tennstedt to Sommerda" appeared still more probable. Falkenstein held on to the retreat to Sommerda, based merely on rumors, although Fliess, who had advanced as far as Henningsleben, reported that the Hanoverians were as before at Langensalza. Falkenstein maintained just as firmly that the Bavarians were advancing in the valley of the Werra, though rumors alone reported that they were first at Meiningen, then at Wernshausen. On the basis of this pretended condition of affairs: retreat of the Hanoverians to Sommerda, and advance of the Bavarians through the valley of the Werra, Falkenstein decided to await, with Goeben, the Bavarians in the position: Berka—Gerstungen—Eisenach, which was over 20 km. long. Fliess did not have to attack the Hanoverian "rear guard" at Langensalza, but remain at its heels, in case it should return. Manteuffel had to stay in Gottingen in case of emergency. The general adhered to this resolution although the King had commanded by telegraph in the evening to bring the Hanoverian matter to an end, cost what it may. It is certain that Falkenstein had the right and the duty to change orders, given by the King from a distance, according to the state of affairs on the spot. However, it must be supposed that the despised order should be replaced by something better. In view of two real or supposed enemies, to remain standing with three separate troop units could by no means be something better. Since Falkenstein disregarded the orders of the King, it was logical and clear for the division commanders to disregard the orders of Falkenstein. They received from Berlin copies of the King's order and judged of the state of affairs not from afar, but like their commander-in-chief, on the spot. Manteuffel, who had already advanced on the 26th, at his own initiative, to Duderstadt and Beienrode, wanted to advance again on the 27th, independently, to Worbis and Dingelstedt, and Fliess resolved, according to the Royal order, to bring the affair to a close, cost what it might, and to attack the Hanoverians in spite of their forces being twice as strong as his. He could sur-

mise that Falkenstein, according to the same order, would come to his support.

On the other side, deliberations took place in the evening of the 26th, as to whether it were expedient to attack the isolated Fliess on the morrow. The intention, expressed in the beginning as a principle to escape, without serious encounter, to South Germany, as well as the unshakable hope of the Bavarian support, kept them from adopting the only measure which could bring the matter to a tolerable end. It was decided to await, beyond the Unstrut, on both sides of the road leading from Langensalza to Sondershausen, the attack of the Prussians and the arrival of the Bavarians. The following positions had to be occupied: Bulow and the reserve artillery at Thamsbruck, de Vaux at Merxleben, Knesebeck, in his rear; Bothmer at Nagelstedt; the reserve cavalry at Sundhausen.

Fliess, who had fallen back for the night to Westhausen—Warza, could attack this position occupied by a numerically superior enemy, only by crossing the Unstrut, perhaps at Grafentonna and then turning against the hostile left flank. He advanced, however, on the 27th against the center of the line and drove out the advanced troops
Map 41. left at Langensalza. Two of Knesebeck's battalions, sent out for support by way of Merxleben, were likewise driven back and the Judenhugel was occupied. This success did not give any special advantage for further attack. The Prussians found themselves before a long defile—the Kirchberg—and a river, bordered by dams. All was strongly occupied. The crest of the Judenhugel commanded, it is true, the Kirchberg, situated opposite, but it was so narrow in the direction of the enemy that the few available batteries could be placed only in echelon formation. It seemed quite impossible to fight down the superior hostile artillery, to penetrate then through the narrow passage and maybe across the river. To hold fast at this point and seek a crossing at another place, the force was too small. The defensive was assumed unintentionally. Six rifled 4-pounders and fourteen smooth bore guns, the range of which was not entirely sufficient, on the Prussian side, opposed twelve rifled six-pounders and three smooth bore guns on the Kirchberg, six rifled 6-pounders in rear of

Merxleben and four similar guns south of Taubenhorn near the Unstrut, which took the position on the Judenhugel in flank and rear. In order to fight this formidable enemy, the rifled battery was taken from the Judenhugel to the Erbsberg, so that only fourteen smooth bore guns remained on the former. In spite of the great numerical superiority of the enemy, the Prussian artillery was able to maintain its positions. The Prussian infantry occupied first the Baths, the Kallenberg Mill and the right bank of the Salza from Graesers factory as far as the Ziegelei and later on, the Erbsberg also. Thus there stood two defenders, a weaker south of and stronger north of the Unstrut. The stronger was constrained against his will, to attack. This seemed very simple to execute. De Vaux would attack from Merxleben, Bulow from Thamsbruck, followed by Knesebeck and the reserve cavalry from Nagelstedt. The battle of Cannae would thus have been repeated in the simplest way. Bulow, as well as Bothmer had, however, gone from the right and the left toward Merxleben and rendered thus their advance difficult. The former succeeded, however, in crossing the river at the Kalkberg. Knesebeck followed. Their attack against the Salza up to Ziegelei did not need to be successful, in spite of their numerical superiority. But when their right wing penetrated into Langensalza, the Judenhugel could no longer be held. Since troops advanced also from Merxleben, the defense, especially the units who had decided upon obstinate resistance in various localities, were in great stress. The defeat would have been complete if Bothmer had likewise crossed the Unstrut and attacked the enemy in the rear. He had, however, desisted from all crossing after an attempt at Taubenhorn had failed. The reserve cavalry, assembled according to Napoleonic principle, in rear of the center, crossed with difficulty over bridge and dam in order to pursue the retreating enemy. The attacks undertaken broke, however, against the good behavior of the Line and the Landwehr and were soon abandoned.

The victor was content with the occupation of the hostile position. The road via Henningsleben remained open and in the evening Fliess was able to occupy his camp near Westhausen and Warza which he had left in the morn- Map 42.

ing. The situation, with the exception of losses suffered by both sides, had altered but little during the 24 hours. The Hanoverians stood near Langensalza, Fliess at Westhausen. Manteuffel had advanced a little closer though not close enough to assume immediate action. It was more important that Goeben, after the defeat of Fliess, could no longer remain idle at Eisenach. He had been made commander-in-chief for the 27th (Falkenstein had gone to Kassel on administrative business) and had remained immobile all day long at Eisenach—Gerstungen in expectation of an attack by the Bavarians. The thundering of the guns at Langensalza did not trouble him much since be thought it an insignificant rear guard combat. The real enemy occupied his mind less than the imaginary one. He telegraphed in the evening to Beyer, stationed at Gerstungen: "I let the alarm be given. Hostile columns are marching towards the heights opposite, they are descending. I shall defend Eisenach if the enemy is strong." The hostile columns were only phantoms. Had these phantoms been of flesh and blood and had the Hanoverians had a Napoleon at their head, Fliess would have been annihilated on the 27th, and, on the 28th, Goeben, for whom a Cannae would have been prepared by a frontal attack by the Bavarians and in rear by the Hanoverians. It would have been shown that it was wrong to offer defensive battle to one opponent, while another was in the rear.

Goeben was first awakened from his trance in the night by a royal telegram directed to Falkenstein, saying: "I order you to go immediately and directly against the Hanoverians. No attention shall be given so far to the Bavarians and the South Germans, but, according to my will and my opinion, the Hanoverians shall be entirely disarmed." Battalions were now sent by rail to Gotha, to the immediate support of Fliess; Beyer was called from Gerstungen and, finally, in the afternoon of the 28th, at 3:00 PM the march to Langensalza was begun. Goeben had not advanced far when a parliamentary reached him with the information that the Hanoverians desired to capitulate.

A council of war was held early in the morning at the headquarters in Langensalza. In front was the enemy who had been defeated the day before. A second was advanc-

ing against Muhlhausen. A third stood at Eisenach. It was just as improbable that any one of these should come up before late in the evening, as that the support of the Bavarians might reach them before that time. For the 28th, at least for the greater part of that day, the Hanoverians would have only the defeated enemy to deal with. Should they attack him immediately they might drive him, probably, as far as Gotha. But little would be gained by this. After using up the rest of their munitions, the Hanoverians would have fallen unarmed into the hands of the enemies advancing on all sides. In order for them to escape such a fate, Fliess should have been annihilated. They had let slip the opportunity to do so on the 27th. It was improbable that they would be able to retrieve on the 28th what they had lost the day before. Should they be able to do so, they would win free retreat to South Germany. But without ammunition, without the possibility of fighting, armed with weapons a little better than sticks and cudgels, they could give no aid to their allies, but would burden them with provisioning and caring for their 20,000 men. Wherever they might come, they would find unfamiliar rifles, guns, and ammunition. It would take a longer time than the war would, presumably last, to prepare for combat. Nothing would have remained, but to place the men in other contingents and to disband the Hanoverian army. From a soldier's point of view, it would have been desirable to fight another battle on the 28th. The King demanded it also. The generals opposed him. They evidently considered a last battle of desperation not consistent with the lost political situation.

The success, obtained by the Prussians on the 28th, after overcoming numberless difficulties, committing mistakes and misunderstandings, after numerous marches and countermarches and after the loss of a bloody battle, could have been attained on the 24th smoothly, unhesitatingly, and without bloodshed, if Moltke's simple plans had been adopted. But the Prussian generals, notwithstanding their prominence and excellence, could not enter into the cycle of ideas of the grayhaired theorist who had never commanded even a company. They held to the views they had absorbed from Napoleonic principles, which they had misunderstood,

and from experience gleaned in time of peace on maneuver grounds. These did not teach them annihilation battles, pursuits, turning movements, and similar phantasies. An enemy occupies a position, the other, having one or two battalions more than the former, attacks. The defeated retreats. The victor allows him to go his way and turns to the problem of the following maneuver day. Moltke endeavored calmly and indefatigably to rebuild the broken cycle. In the beginning he limited himself to kindly persuasion. He was forced in the end to resort to royal commands of the most peremptory character. It is not the least of his achievements that he carried out his will, and brought everything to a fortunate conclusion.

A battle of Cannae was fought on the 28th or rather initiated and planned. Initiation and planning were sufficient to convince the enemy of the futility of resistance and to place him out of the sphere of activity. Corresponding to the ancient program of the battle of the Aufidus, a victory of Arendtschildt over Fliess similar to that gained by Terentius Varro over the Iberians and Gauls, had preceded the turning and surrounding. Only through this victory was the victor placed in the fatal position bringing about his destruction.

The next result of the modern battle of Cannae was the constitution of a North German Confederation, of a united Germany, at least as far as the Main, to which the Kings of Saxony and Hanover and the Elector of Hesse had disdained to belong. The other princes of North Germany declared themselves ready to place their contingents at the disposition of the new commander of the Confederation.

THE CAMPAIGN IN BOHEMIA OF 1866 UNTIL THE EVENING OF 30 JUNE[19]

On 14 June, 1866, Saxony had voted with the other German Central States at the Federal Diet against Prussia, and on the 15th, the latter declared war on Saxony and Hanover. On the 16th, Herwarth advanced with the Army of the Elbe (14th, 15th, and 16th Divisions) from Torgau along the left bank of the Elbe into Saxony. On that same day, Austria promised, at the Federal Diet, her support to the Central States. She had thus entered into war against Prussia and had to shoulder the onus of aggression. Prussia could consider herself as attacked and forced against her will to a counterattack. Even the most cautious of policies had to be abandoned, in regard to Austria and action had to be taken.

The armies were still engaged in concentration.

The Army of the Elbe reached Dresden on the 18th, also Kesselsdorf and Tannesberg. The Saxon army had gone before it to Teplitz over the Erzgebirge, not hurriedly like the Hessian and Hanoverian armies, but well prepared and equipped with all that was necessary for a campaign. To the left of the Army of the Elbe, the First Army had entered Saxony with its right wing and stood between the Spree near Bautzen and the Bober near Lowenberg. A mixed brigade of the 1st Corps had been left at Landeshut—Waldenburg. The rest of the Second Army came up on the 18th, on the Glatzer Neisse. The position, through which Silesia could be saved, had, before it could be reached and occupied, become objectless. Austria would not in- Map 43.

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[19] War organization:
Prussia:
Army of the Elbe: VIII Army Corps, 14th Division, Guard-Landwehr Division;
First Army: II, III, IV Army Corps, Cavalry Corps, Division Alvensleben's, Division Hann's;
Second Army: Guard Corps, I, V, VI Army Corps, Hartmann's Cavalry Division.
Austria:
Austrian Army of the North: I, II, III, IV, VI, VIII, X Army Corps, 1st & 2d Light Cavalry Divisions, 1st, 2d, 3d Reserve Cavalry Divisions.
Saxon Army.

vade Silesia. She wanted to support Saxony, whose army had advanced into Bohemia, and be supported by her, seeking likewise the support of Bavaria, whose troops were assembled on the frontier of Bohemia. On the other frontiers of Bohemia, the hostile main armies were ready to invade the country. Whatever might have been Austria's plans and intentions and whatever plans and intentions she should have had, after what had taken place on the 14th, 15th, and 16th on the one and the other side, there remained for a general, who was not exactly a Napoleon, nothing but to lead the army assembled in Moravia to Bohemia. Prussia was to go against this army. On the 19th, it was decided in Berlin to invade Bohemia.

It would have seemed adequate to assemble first the three armies, to have the Second Army join the First north of the mountain ridge, in order to penetrate into the hostile territory in one irresistible mass. But this mass had not found sufficient roads to cross the mountains rapidly. The few leading elements that fortunately reached the other side would have become an easy prey of a resolute and skillful enemy. The mass, coming slowly and gradually, unmolested, through the mountains, would have found nothing more than the enemy, opposing it in a better and more favorable condition. In spite of the distance separating the First Army from the Second, Moltke held to his plan of junction at the front of the enemy's country. In addition to other advantages, he obtained a greater number of routes, though not too many. The roads were all heavily burdened; the only considerable passage was closed by the Riesan and Iser Mountains.

No doubt could remain as to the mode of advance of the First Army. It had to march from Bautzen, Gorlitz, Lauban, via the Lausitz ridge towards the Iser. The route for the Army of the Elbe had been planned first from Dresden along the left bank of the Elbe, crossing over the river at Tetschen and marching further via Bohmisch-Leipa to the Iser. This march, however, was threatened by a flank attack, the Saxons being at Teplitz, the Austrians having joined them at that point and the Bavarians being expected to advance at any moment. It was pre-

ferred to have the Army of the Elbe join the First Army via Stolpen.

After the Guard Landwehr Division had been added to the Army of the Elbe, both armies had reached the strength of five army corps and one cavalry corps. The space available for the advance march of these 150,000 men was narrowed on the right by the Elbsandstein mountains, on the left by the Iser ridge and barred in front by the Lausitz Mountains. Nevertheless five passable roads were found:

1. Neustadt — Schonlinde — Kreibitz — Haida — Bohmisch-Leipa—Jungbunzlau;
2. Neustadt — Rumburg — Zwickau — Niemes — Munchengratz;
3. Lobau — Zittau — Grottau — Pankraz — Oschlitz — Bohmisch-Aicha—Podol;
4. Gorlitz (left bank of the Neisse)—Hirschgelde—Wetzwalde — Kratzau — Reichenberg (west) — Liebenau — Turnau;
5. Gorlitz (right bank of the Neisse)—Seidenberg—Friedland, Einsiedel — Marklissa — Raspenau — Reichenberg (east)—Gablons—Eisenbrod.

These five routes, to which might be added a sixth, via Hirschberg — Warmbrunn — Schreiberhau — Neuwelt — Hochstadt to Semil, were very close to each other; but they must and could be sufficient since the expected enemy could not be very strong, not strong enough, at any rate, to bar all five roads. Did he oppose one of the columns, the others would soon come up to its assistance. It was disadvantageous only that the Army of the Elbe was several days' march in rear of the First Army and that only one road was available for it from Dresden to Neustadt. The First Army was thus forced to stand still several days until the neighboring army had come up with it.

The I Corps of the Second Army was immediately sent via Schweidnitz to Landeshut in order to join the First Army from this point or, if possible, from Hirschberg. The VI Corps was to "demonstrate" south of the Neisse towards Moravia, in order to hold part of the Austrian main forces and prevent them from marching to Bohemia. The two remaining corps (the V and the Guard) were to go so close to the First Army that they could be echeloned on the roads via Frankenstein and Glatz. Their employment would

depend on the development of the situation. It was expected that the First Army would start early from Gorlitz —Bautzen, drive back the as yet weak forces in Bohemia and march further. Expecting a simultaneous start of the Austrians from Moravia and the Prussians from Gorlitz, an encounter with the hostile main army could take place soon after the latter had crossed the Elbe. The Second Army would then be in readiness with the V, VI, and the Guard Corps to attack the flank and rear of the enemy while he was occupied with the First Army. This plan had to be abandoned because the First Army could not advance, awaiting the Army of the Elbe. Instead of it a junction of the three armies was ordered on 22 June, to take place on the road to Gitschin. This, under the most favorable conditions, would bring about an attack against the main forces of the enemy, which would have penetrated as far as Gitschin, by the First Army from the Iser, by the Second Army from the Upper Elbe, and, in less favorable circumstances, an attack against the enemy who would have come up only as far as Josefstadt—Koniggratz, by one army over the Elbe, by the other over the Aupa and Mettau, maybe also from Glatz, at all events an attack from three sides—a battle of annihilation.

The Second Army, to which the I Corps had again been attached, advanced first along the designated route. On the 25th, the I Corps reached without molestation Liebau; on the 26th, the Guard Corps reached Braunau and Politz; and the V Corps, Lewin. The latter was followed from Glatz by the VI for covering the left flank.

On the 22d, the First Army had advanced with the 8th, 7th, 5th, and 6th Divisions to Zittau, Hirschfelde, Seidenberg, and Marklissa, while the Army of the Elbe after three days' march had reached, with one column each, Nixdorf and Schluckenau. From this point the march could be continued first over six then over five roads to Jungbunzlau—Eisenbrod. The commander-in-chief of the First Army, however, intended to open the campaign with a brilliant success. With this object, an enemy, who had decided upon obstinate resistance, at Reichenberg was selected. In order to attack him on the 24th, the 8th Di-

vision marched on the 23d from Zittau to Grottau over the Jeschken ridge to Pankraz and Schombach, with its extreme head as far as Kriesdorf, the 7th went from Hirschfelde to Kratzau, the 5th, from Seidenberg via Friedland to Dittersbach and Einsiedel, the 6th, from Marklissa to Raspenau and Phillippsgrund. The II Corps followed via Zittau and Hirschfelde on the heels of the 7th Division. On the following day, the 7th and 5th Divisions were to attack the front and the 8th, after a second ascent of the Jeschken ridge, the rear of the Reichenberg position. However, before this could be done, the enemy (3 squadrons) had marched off. Two belated Radetzky hussars could be brought before the victor. The entire First Army, 93,000 men, was assembled in a narrow space in front of Reichenberg. The "calamity of concentration" of which Moltke had warned, made itself felt. These masses could not be quartered, fed and, most of all, moved. Of the two outlets, leading via Liebenau and Gablonz, from the mountain valley, the first was barred by the enemy, the second could be easily closed. It seemed desirable to await the arrival of the Army of the Elbe to extricate itself from this point. The latter assembled only on the 25th at Gabel and Kummersdorf.

After the two armies had reached the same line, the following advance began on the 26th: the 15th and 16th Divisions from Kummersdorf to Niemes, the 14th from Gabel to Oschitz, the 8th from Kichicht to Liebenau, the 7th from Gablonz via Reichenau to Turnau. The road to Jungbunzlau had been given up and both armies were crowded into the narrow Iser strip: Munchengratz—Turnau. The advance guard of the first column drove back a weak hostile force at Hunnerwasser and followed the main army to Plauschnitz. The second reached Oschitz. South of Liebenau and Sichnow the third encountered Edelsheim's Cavalry which was driven, after two lengthy artillery combats, via Preper to Podol beyond the Iser. The 4th column reached Turnau and repaired the destroyed, though not occupied bridge. The 8th Division was followed by the 6th as far as Liebenau, the 7th was followed by the 5th as far as Gablonz. On the same day, the First Army

reached the line of the Iser and the Second the mountain passes between Liebau and Nachod. The further problems of both were plain.

The Second Army was confined, on its march to Gitschin, by the mountain ridge on the right and the fortress Josefstadt on the left. There should consequently advance: the I, V, and Guard Corps from Liebau via Trautenau to Neuschloss (Arnau), from Dittersbach and Politz, via Eipel and Kosteletz to Koniginhof and from Nachod via Skalitz to Schurz and the Elbe; the VI Corps was to follow the V in echelons for the cover of the left flank.

The further march of the Army of the Elbe and of the First Army had to take place, according to Moltke's program, from Gitschin as a general objective and the orders for the left wing to halt, in the mountains were all sufficient. The northernmost road leading to Gitschin close to the mountains went from Eisenbrod via Lomnitz to Eisen-
Map 44. stadt. The left column had to take it. The further marching routes were: Turnau—Gitschin, Podol—Sobotka—Kosteletz — Munchengratz — Unter-Bautzen — Liben — Kopidlno, Jungbunzlau—Domausnitz—Rossdalawitz. Five columns, of two divisions each, on these five roads could hardly expect to meet any resistance from the I Austrian, or Saxon Corps, taking their numerical superiority into consideration. The enemy, who attempted to bar the one or the other column, would soon have been turned and surrounded by the others.

This could have been executed more successfully by taking the cavalry along. At that time it was hardly possible to think of using the cavalry corps attached to the First Army and the cavalry division attached to the Second, outside the battlefield. The masses of cavalry were taken along by the trains as *articles de luxe.* They were, it is true, of little use at the front for reconnoitering the mountainous regions. The first defile occupied by the enemy would have put a stop to their advance. A weaker cavalry was sufficient here for the support of the infantry. On the right wing of the Army of the Elbe the cavalry had reconnoitered the terrain south of the Lausitz ridge via Bemsen and Bohmisch-Leipa, as far as the Elbe and en-

deavored in vain to reassure the commander as to a threatened attack of the right flank. Reports in war, however, always give way to rumors. The place of the Cavalry Corps was where the cavalry of the Army of the Elbe had done its work, to which no attention had been paid. As soon as the invasion of Saxony had been ordered, it ought to have gone close to the Army of the Elbe, follow it in its advance and, as soon as the mountain passes had been won, taken up position close to its right column. While the latter was marching to Jungbunzlau, the cavalry corps ought to have taken the direction of Brodetz and Benatek and accompanied it on its march via Krinetz to Nimberg and Chlumec. It would thus have prolonged the front of the First Army and the Army of the Elbe which would have reached Gitschin—Neubidschow—Chlumec almost at the time that the Second Army reached the Upper Elbe. Had the enemy, as expected and supposed by Moltke, marched over the Elbe sector between Josefstadt and Koniggratz, he would have had to turn sooner or later part of his forces against the Second Army, threatening his flank, in order to throw it back or at least to check it. It was a question whether there would be a sufficient number of corps left to master the First Army and the Army of the Elbe. It was to be expected that the First Army would suffice for the attack of the hostile front, the Army of the Elbe and, possibly the cavalry corps, turning against the left hostile flank, would win the road: Gitschin—Koniggratz, while the cavalry division of the Second Army, supported by the VI Corps, would endeavor to cut off Josefstadt from the east.

The Austrian Army had hardly begun its advance to Bohemia, when on the 18th, word came that the Bavarians could not effect a junction with it, but were forced to defend their country on the Main in the north against the enemy advancing from the north. Falkenstein's three divisions though still at a distance, had apparently not missed their effect. This report was disturbing, but no changes could be made in the intention to go against the enemy who was known to be at Gorlitz and in Saxony, to advance beyond the Elbe "near Josefstadt, Koniginhof, and Mile-

tin," and then to act according to circumstances. It was ascertained on the 20th through reliable information(20), that not only the V and VI Corps, but also the I and the Guard Corps were in Silesia, that these four corps had been drawn to the Neisse, but that they had already retreated. One Prussian corps, according to information, had been sent to Hirschberg for immediate junction with the main army, which had to await its arrival in the vicinity of Gorlitz. The Guard and V Corps were said to be on the march to Landeshut, the VI between the Neisse and Glatz. The former disposition had to be reassumed with a few changes; one corps at Glatz—Neisse, two at Landeshut, one at Hirschberg, the main army at Gorlitz—Bautzen, the Army of the Elbe no longer at Torgau but at Dresden. Should all these positions be won, the invasion of Bohemia could be expected. The enemy, however, was not yet concentrated and this fact could be taken advantage of.

Since the head of the Austrian right column had reached Zwittau on the 20th, and that of the center column, Zwittawka, an advance against the enemy, reported to be on a flanking march from the Neisse to Landeshut and Hirschberg, could scarcely be thought of. It was dubious if he could be reached in time at the mountain pass near Liebau, south of Landeshut. But the Upper Elbe, between Josefstadt and Arnau, formed a strong barrier which, if occupied by a sufficient force, would check the advance of the enemy from Landeshut and Glatz. The march was directed on that point. It was accelerated to the utmost. The 1st Reserve Cavalry at the head of the right column, formerly destined to Gross-Burglitz, turned on the 25th from Jaromer to Dolan and Skalitz, sent out detachments to Dobruschka, Neustadt, Nachod, Kosteletz, and came in touch with the Dragoon Regiment, for a long time on fronteir duty, at Trautenau. The X Corps advanced then to Josefstadt—Schurs. On the following day a brigade of this corps advanced to Kaile and Deutsch-Prausnitz, while the IV Corps marched past it to Koniginhof. The position on the Upper Elbe was thus occupied. The occupation was

(20) An exchange of telegrams between the Prussian First and Second Armies was intercepted on the wire.

to be completed on the 27th, by sending one brigade each to Arnau and Falgendorf. Cavalry in the first line, one infantry brigade at Prausnitz—Kaile, six brigades in rear of the Elbe resting with their right on Josefstadt, one at the defile at Falgendorf for the security of the left flank: everything was organized in the best way. Farther in rear there arrived on the 26th: the VI Corps at Opochno, II Corps and 2d Light Cavalry Division at Senftenberg, the III Corps at Koniggratz, the VIII at Tynist, the 3d and 2d Reserve Cavalry Divisions at Wildenschwert and Hehenmauth. Information was brought in the evening of the 26th: enemy at Liebau, enemy at Politz advancing via Hronow to Nachod and enemy at Lewin. These were probably the two corps expected from Landeshut. Only one had marched thither. The other crossed the mountains more to the south in two columns and intended to join the other at Nachod. Should these advance farther, as might be expected, an attack on the Upper Elbe with two corps at the front and one coming via Hirschberg and Starkenbach on the left flank, might be expected as early as the 29th. At the same time, the hostile main army, advancing from Saxony and the Lausitz, might already be not far distant. A battle might occur with the latter on the 30th, after completed concentration in the locality: Horitz—Miletin, while the battle on the Upper Elbe would be in its second day.

How would it be possible to fight for victory with one enemy when another, close by, directly threatened the rear and flank? It was impossible to allow them to come so close. The forces at hand did not suffice to attack both and drive them back. A success might be hoped for if one enemy were held with the weakest possible force while the other were attacked with the greatest possible strength. It was enticing to attack the enemy, advancing from Silesia, with the II, VI, X, and IV Corps, then at hand. A protracted defense against the other enemy seemed possible only on the Iser. The corps at that point, however, were not sufficiently strong and there was no time to reinforce them. The attack had to be made against the Iser, the defense against the other side, the Silesian. However, it was not on the Elbe, but at the mountain passes that the

enemy should have been stopped so as to have elbow room. Gablenz, was to advance toward the enemy, reported at Liebau, as far as Trautenau, Rammig with the VI Corps was to take a position, against the other, at Skalitz, sending out an advance guard to Nachod. It was left to the discretion of the two generals to await the enemy in a position or, according to circumstances, "go at him," though not to pursue the defeated enemy too far. If the "reliable information" concerning only two corps at Landeshut and vicinity, were correct, Gablenz and Rammig would likewise be sufficient. In war there is, however, nothing more dangerous than reliable information. It is overtaken by events. What was adequate yesterday, would be wrong tomorrow. Here likewise, not two, but three and, taking into consideration the VI which was soon to come up, four corps were to be expected. Had greater caution been exercised, the IV Corps could have been sent from Koniginhof to Trautenau and the V to Eipel and Kostelnitz. It was quite comprehensible, however, why it was feared to weaken the intended offensive against the enemy on the Iser, by using three corps. It was sufficiently threatened. The enemy might come up in that direction, before the advance on the right of the Elbe had been completed. This slow advance and deployment from endless depths of march was the principal evil which rendered all bold undertakings impossible. Under this stress a telegram was sent to the Crown Prince of Saxony, commander-in-chief of the I and the Saxon Corps, on the 26th "to hold Munchengratz and Turnau at any price." Two corps, the VI and the X, were to throw the hostile army back into the Silesian mountain passes or keep them from debouching from them while two others, the I and the Saxon, were to hold the enemy on the Iser, the rest executing their deployment on the right bank of the Elbe.

The Saxon corps and the Austrian Brigade Ringelsheim had been called from Teplitz—Aussig via Leitmeritz to the Iser, had effected there a junction with the Austrian I Corps under Clam-Gallas and jointly occupied a position at Jungbunzlau—Munchengratz, while the Cavalry Division Edelscheim guarded the road from Reichenbach to

Podol and Turnau. The directions received from the Army commander wavered between "retreating without combat at the approach of the enemy" and "retreating with light fighting." When the order of "holding Munchengratz and Turnau at any cost," now arrived, the latter point had already been lost and Podol was threatened. Supposing that only small advance guards were at these two points, the Crown Prince resolved to retake Turnau and gain from Podol the heights of Swigan, situated in front of it, late in the evening of the 26th, advance further on the morrow, occupy the narrow passes and prevent the enemy from debouching from the mountains. The plan would have succeeded 24 hours earlier, now it was too late. The Prussians had meanwhile reinforced their weak advance guards. A few Austrian battalions, advancing hastily from Podol, were after initial success thrown back over the Iser by Bose's Brigade of the 8th Division and were forced to abandon the bridge to the enemy. After this failure, the operation against Turnau was likewise abandoned and it was decided to limit the defensive to Munchengratz. This decision might have brought on a catastrophe if the Prussian armies had crossed the Iser in five columns between Jungbunzlau and Eisenbrod. It was, however, executed within 24 hours, because the Army of the Elbe had taken advantage of this time for a day of rest and the First Army for preparations and dispositions for the attack which had been postponed to the 28th. Not these preparations decided the Crown Prince to retreat on the following morning (the 28th), but the rumor that the enemy was on the march from Turnau to Gitschin, which decision was confirmed by an order from Benedek.

While a relative rest and inactivity was enjoyed here on the 27th, sharp fighting took place on the other front at two points. On the 26th, the V Prussian Corps under General von Steinmetz had reached Cellenau with the van-, Lewin with the advance guard, the main army was at Reinerz and the reserve at Ruckers. Steinmetz's problem for the next day was to gain and hold the pass at Nachod. Since this point had been reported occupied by the enemy, General von Loewenfeld went forward with the advance

Map 45.

guard, drove back the weak enemy, occupied Nachod and the nearest heights with his leading troops under Colonel von Below and had the advance guard follow as far as Schlaney. The depth of the corps was thus about 25 k.m. Still it was necessary to be prepared for an encounter with the enemy, for a battle, a decisive battle, not only be prepared for it but seek it in order to begin the war in a promising manner. Napoleon, such as we know him at Jena, would have taken not only the vanguard, but the entire advance guard through the Nachod defile in the evening or in the night, occupied a position on the other side and taken care that early the following day the rest of the corps had begun to cross over the Mettau bridge. Steinmetz made the various echelons, maintaining their intervals, break camp at the usual hour of 6:00 AM and after having made half of the march, halted for one half hour, according to custom. Consequently it was not surprising that both van- and advance guards were opposed during several hours by a numerically superior enemy and exposed to a complete defeat.

The VI Austrian Corps under Lieutenant Fieldmarshal v. Rammig was posted on the 26th north of Opochno between Dobruschka and Metzritz. The four brigades had to march thence by four different roads to Wysokow, Kleny, and Stalitz in order to occupy there a position facing east. They had not yet reached their goal when the enemy was reported on the hills northeast of Wenzelsberg. The right wing brigade, which had taken the road from Wrchowin to Schonow, turned to the right at this village and deployed for attack. Four battalions in three echelons, the first in division(21), the others in battalion columns, a few skirmishers in front, a battery coming up on the side, went against the 2d Battalion of the 37th Regiment, half a company of rifles and a battery of the Prussian advance guard which had taken up a position northeast of the Wenzelsberg half way up the slope between the Waltchen (little wood) and a thicket, situated much more south. The Austrian battery was soon silenced. The five battalions marched on, the bands playing. They were brought to a halt by the

(21) One division—two of the six companies forming a battalion.

rapid fire of the rifles; the volleys of the deployed line forced them to retreat and the pursuing fire changed the retreat into a rout. It was a battle of deep against wide formation; a battle of one opponent feeding the combat against the other opponent throwing in his full strength; a battle column against line; "of the entire man, the bayonet" against "the fool, the bullet"; of the muzzle loader against the breech loader; of the target against the sharpshooter. Once again the two battalions of the third line were sent against the front and one battalion, advanced to the vicinity of the Neustadt road, against the left flank of the enemy. The failure was identical. The Hertwek brigade disappeared. Only two battalions had taken up position in Wenzelsberg and in the church of that village. Battalions of the Prussian advance guard, coming up over the Branca hill, took part in the last fights. In pursuing the enemy, they penetrated on the right into the Waldchen, on the left to Sochors and the assistant forester's lodge. There now stood in an extended line: three and one half companies in Wyschow, four and one half in the western part of the Waldchen, the 2d Battalion of the 37th Regiment between the woods and the thicket, situated more to the south, two batteries and four squadrons to the left of the thicket, ten companies at Sochors and the assistant forester's lodge, two companies in reserve at Altstadt and two on the Neustadt road. All could advance for a concentric attack against Wenzelsberg.

But the Brigade Jonak was now advancing. It had interrupted its march to Kleny at Domkow, deployed and advanced in three lines through the northern end of Schonow on Wenzelsberg. Fire from the left out of the Waldchen, fire from the right out of the assistant forester's lodge forced it to divide. Four battalions turned to the right against the forester's lodge, three to the left against the western edge of the Waldchen. A battalion of rifles attacked simultaneously from the Skalitz road. The Brigade Rosenzweig entered into the open space between the two parts of the Brigade Jonak. Two of its battalions were sent into the woods, into which the greater part of Wenzelsberg's garrison had turned, so that seven to eight

battalions fought against the four and one half Prussian companies. Attacked on three sides with such superiority of numbers, they were forced to retreat from the wood. The Prussians could not hold out either at the forester's lodge or at Sochors. One battalion of Rosenzweig was left with the battery. Three advanced past the Wenzelsberg church. The 2d Battalion repulsed their attack, but its right flank being threatened from the wood, it was forced to retreat. The twelve guns, which resisted a long time against the 24 Austrian guns were forced to follow it. After the five battalions of the Prussian advance guard had escaped the double surrounding of the sixteen Austrian battalions, they halted with their two batteries on the hill on the Neustadt road, their right wing at the Branca defile and the left in the vicinity of Bracetz.

The Austrians followed on the right as far as the forester's lodge and Sochors, in the center as far as the former position of the 2d Battalion of the 37th Regiment, on the left as far as the eastern edge of the wood. Further to the left went the Solms Cavalry Brigade between the wood and Wysokow, but retreated towards Kleny, after a skirmish with the Wunck Cavalry Brigade. All attempts of the Austrian infantry to advance from the wood against the Prussian position were repulsed by a hot, rapid fire, as well as by flanking attacks of the infantry and cavalry. The Austrians however, held the gained positions until the main forces of the VI Corps reached the battlefield. Two battalions of its leading Brigade, the 19th, were sent to Wysokow and four against the wood. They sufficed to drive the enemy, greatly shaken by many repulsed attacks and unable to deploy on account of lack of space, not only out of the wood, but also out of Wenzelsberg and forced him to retreat as far as Prowodow and Schonow. The Austrian right wing at the forester's lodge and Sochors' joined this movement, although it had not been attacked. An advance of the Prussians from the west end of the wood and through Wenzelsberg stopped the fire of the Austrian artillery reserve which had arrived from Skalitz and taken position on the heights east of Kleny.